THE

# HISTORY

Of the Twelve

# CÆSARS,

Emperours of ROME.

Written in Latine by

Caius Suetonius Tranquillus,

Newly Translated into English, and Illustrated with all their Heads in Copper Plates.

#### LONDON,

Printed by J. M. for John Starkey, at the Mitre in Fleetstreet, near Temple-Bar. 1677.

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# SURVEY

OF THE

#### EIGHT BOOKS

OF

## Cains Suetonius Tranquillus,

UPON THE

TWELVE CÆSARS.

#### The FIRST BOOK,

Being the LIFE of

Divus Julius Casar.

The ARGUMENT.

Armes; his progress in the Wars; his accusation of Dolabella, and his retirement to Rhodes; his being taken by Pirates at Sea; his accusation against Mithridates.

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His Honours, and Magistracies, with his Deportment, and the Accidents which befell him therein; his being made first a Tribune of the Souldiers; his Quastorship in the farther part of Spain; his return to Rome, and the Suspicion he fell under; his Ædile-(hip, and the several passages thereof; his Prator ship, and the administration of his Province in Spain; his return to Rome, his Consu ship, his Marriage with Calphurnia, his Government in France, his several Arts and Stratagems, to confirm and increase his power; his Archievements during the nine years he had the Command of that Province; the death of his Mother, his Daughter, and his Grand-daughter.

His contrivance of New troubles; the advantage he made of the Publick confternation; his bounty and munificence to the people of Rome, with the artifice he used to ingratiate with Pompey, the Senate, the Gtizens of all Orders, the Freed-men and Servants; but especially all Criminals, Prodigals, and persons in Debt, as also all Foreign Princes, and Governours of Provinces; the endeavours of M. and Ca. Marcellus to obstruct him, and the ways which Cafar took to

defeat them.

The Civil War which Cafar commenced, his retirement into Gallia Cifalpina, and bis rendezvous at Ravenna; bis Declaration and Pretence: bis begining of the War, and his passage over the Rubicon; the Progress of his Affairs, the Losses he sustain'd by bis Lieutenants, his five Triumphs, his liberality to the Souldiers and People, the various Spectacles which he exhibited.

The state of the Commonwealth according to Cæfars establishment; he corrects the Calendar, fills up the Senate, divides the Election of Magistrates with the people, and institutes many things de novo in the Re-

Republick; his Transmarine Colonies; his inventions so supply the City, which was almost exhausted; his diligence, and severity in the administration of Justice; his Designs for the Repairing and Adornment of the City, and his ways of Defending and Enlarging his

Empire.

His Complexion, Habit, Mene, and Manners, as also his Inclinations in Civil and Military affairs; his stature, his form, his constitution, and curiosity about himself; bis habitation and neatness; his manner of entertainments, and the discipline of his Family; his modesty in some things, and his immodesty in others; his debauching of Several honourable Ladjes in the City, and several considerable persons in the Provinces, especially Cleopatra; his abstemiousness, as to Wine, and his indifferency in his Diet; his Extortion in his Foreign Commands, and in his Civil Magistracies; his excellence in Rhetorick, and Eloquence; his Caution, and his Courage; his Contempt of Religion, his custom in giving Battle, his Horse; his remarkable constancy, and several instances of it: The Souldiers which he most approved, and the Military discipline he observed; his indulgence and kindness towards them; and their devotion towards him; his comportment upon a Mutiny, his fidelity towards his Clients, his affability towards his Friends; his lenity in point of revenge, his moderation and clemency, both in his Civil Administrations, and Victories.

Of Cæsars death; the actions and expressions for which he was supposed to be justly Slain; The publick Odium that was upon him; The number and Counsels of the Conspirators; The Prodigies which presaged his death; his murder in the Senate, his Will open d and read, his Funeral: The sury of the people against his Murderers, and their affection to Cæsar:

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several suppositions why Casar neglected the Religious admonitions, and the advertisements of his Friends; That he died according to his own Election, as to the manner of his death! His Age, his Consecration, and the just Judgement upon his Murderers.

#### The SECOND BOOK,

Being the LIFE of Casar Augustus.

The ARGUMENT.

THE Birth and Original of Octavius Augustus; the Family of the Octavii, and his Ancestors by the Fathers side: a relation of his Father Octavius, with his several Exploits : his death, his Wives, his Children, and Augustus his Pedigree by the Mothers side: the time and place of his Nativity: the place where he was brought up: his several Names: a Summary of his life: a particular description and exposition of his affairs, as to his publick capacity: his return from Apollonia: his contention with M. Anthony: bis Mutinensian, Philippensian, and Perufine Wars: his Wars in Sicily against Sextus Pompeius: his Engagement near Actium: his Foreign Wars, managed partly by himself, and partly by his Lieutenants: Conspiracies against him discovered and Suppress'd: the Provinces reduc'd by his Conduct and Success: his inclination to peace: his reputation among the Indians, Scythians, and Parthians: the Temple

of Janus (that but twice before from the foundation of the City) flut thrice in his time: his Ovations, and his Triumphs: the affronts and defeats which he received: his alterations, and inftitutions in Military affairs: his Magistracies, his thirteen Consulships, his Tribunitial Authority, his Cenfor ship, his thoughts of restoring the Commonwealth, his repairing and beautifying the City: The publick Buildings erected by him, and other persons of Quality upon his recommendation: The City divided into Precincts and Wards, and feveral new Officers created to Supervise them: certain publick Wayes made, or repair'd without the City, by him, and other persons which had Triumph'd: Religious Houses repaired by him, and endowed: his being created Pontifex Maximus, and his actions in Religious affairs: his burning of Prophetical Pamphlets: his restauration of the Julian account: He augments the number, dignity, and allowances of the Priesthood: he revives absolete Customes: The next henour to the Gods, he attributes to the memory of the Roman Captains: His Corrections, Ratifications, and Innovations in the Government of the Commonwealth, his Suppression of violence upon the High-way, and his dissolution of all illegal Fraternities: he prevents all scandal, and htigiousness; regulates the Laws, and administers Justice himself with great dillgence and moderation: be purges the Senate, and makes several Decrees in order to their Acts, and the Magistrates: New Offices instituted by Augustus: the Priviledges and Honours conferr'd upon Military virtue: his liberality to all Orders of persons in the City: the publick Spectacles which he exhibited: his supplying Italy from his Colonies: his own administration of the Provinces: his Military force: an Elogium of his publick conversation and clemency: The affection the people of Rome, the Pro-

Provinces, and the Princes his Allyes had for him: his private manners, or his deportment in his Family: his Mother, Sifters, Spouse, Wives, and Children : his behaviour towards his Friends and Servants: The asperfions of immodesty, lust, luxury, and play, cast upon him by his Adversaries, and how far they were true or false: bis Continence, his Frugality, his manner of Feasting, and celebration of Solemn dayes: his Diet, his temperance as to Wine, his sleep: the shape and proportions of his body: the fits of sickness which he had, and his methods in preserving his health: The Studies and Eloquence of Augustus, his Writings, his manner of fpeaking: remarkable Customs in his common discourse: his industry in the Learning of the Greeks: his way of applying what he read to his own use: his Superstition: The Prognostications before he was born, on his. Birthday, and afterwards, by which his grandeur and felicity was foretold: his death, the presages of it: his fickness, his last journey into Campania, his last day, and bis expiration in the embraces of his Wife Livia: The time and place of his death, his Funeral, Confeeration, and Will.

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#### The THIRD BOOK,

Being the LIFE of

Tiberius Casar.

The ARGUMENT.

F the Origin and Ancestors of Tiberius, of the fa-mily Claudii, the variety of their Actions; some to the honour, others to the prejudice of the Common. wealth, of the Branch from whence Tiberius was descended, of his Father, of Tiberius whilft be was but a private person, the place and time of his Nativity, bis Infancy, Youth, Adolescence after he had affum'd the Virile Robe, and his Marriages; his Pleadings upon feveral occasions, his sundry Expeditions in the Wars, his Retirement to Rhodes, his defire to Return, his Involuntary continuance at Rhodes, his changing the Habit of the Romans, and the Contempt be lived in whilft he was abroad. His re-admission after eight years absence. The presages of his future greatness, his private life upon his first coming back, and his Adoption afterwards. The honours conferr'd upon him, bis Tribunitial authority, his Command in the Illyrick Wars, the Honours decreed him upon the Omclusion of that War. His Expedition into Germany upon the defeat of Varus. His exact Discipline, his Triumph two years after hereturn'd. The Provinces communicated betwixt him and Augustus, his second design into Illyricum, but he was called back as he was in

his Journey, by the Indisposition of Augustus; the Authors reasons why Augustus left the Empire to Tiberius: Agrippa murder'd, his care of the Funeral and Consecration of Augustus: Tiberius possesses himself immediately of the Imperial Authority, and yet obstinately refuses the avowing it a long while; the causes of his hesitation: his extraordinary Civilities at his first entrance upon the Government: he discourages Flattery, he despises Calumny, his Humanity in Saluting all persons by their Names: The shadow of Liberty which he introduc'd, and his deference to the Senate: his severity which grew upon him by degrees, and gave evident tokens he was degenerating to Tyranny: several instances of his Cruelty: his regulation of the Expences belonging to his Plays: his moderation in the Furniture of his House: his inhibition of daily Salutes; and New years gifts: He suppresses all Foreign Ceremonies, expels Astrologers, provides with great care for the fecurity of the peace against Robberies and Seditions: he suppresses some Hostile Commotions by his Lieutenants: he reduces such Kings as were troublesome, or suspicious, and by what Arts: his Residence in the City, and thereabouts, for some years after he was possessed of the Empire: his departure from the City, and retirement to Caprex: his arrival at the City out of Campania: his return into the faid Island, and his laying aside all care of the Common-wealth: The Vices of Tiberius dissembled a long time, break out at Capreæ: his propensity to Wine from his Childhood; his invention for the accommodation of his private Lusts: his Parsimony, his Extortion, bis Mother, Brother, Sons, their Wives, Children, Friends, and Familiars: his severity to the Grecian Philosophers belonging to his Court, Indications of the cruelty of his Nature: his severity in Cases of Treason, Libels

Libels dispersed of him: How detestable his life was, how subject to Terrors, and Affronts. The opinion of some who thought Tiberius was sensible of the Ignominy which should be fall him, long before it happen'd. His stature and constitution. His contempt of Religion, his addictedness to the study of the Liberal Arts. His Death, his desire to be brought to Rome, his being carried about Campania whilst he was ill. He dyed in a Village belonging to Lucullus. The Prodigies which preceded his Death, the joy of the People thereupon, and his last Will and Testament.

The

#### The FOURTH BOOK,

Being the LIFE of

## Caius Casar Caligula.

The ARGUMENT.

F Germanicus the Father of Caius Cafar, his Relations, Nature, and Adoption. The commands and actions of Germanicus, his death at Antioch in Syria. His honourable Character: The Universal love that was show'd to him whilst he was living. Expressions of the same affection towards him, at, and after his death. The Wife of Germanicus, and the Children be had by her. Of Gains Cæsar before he was Emperour. Of his birth, the variety of Opinions, at what place, and the suppositions of Gætulicus and Plinius Secundus refell'd. Why he was called Caligula; his Youth and Minority, his Residence with Tiberius in Caprez. Tokens of the perversness and cruelty of his Nature. His Wife Junia Claudilla. He attempts Tiberius with poyson. Of Caius Cæsar Caligula when he was Emperour, his good actions. The Universal joy at his arrival at the Empire, a hundred and sixty thou-Sand Sacrifices offer'd in the three first Months. The will of Tiberius made Void by the Senate and the People, and the whole power devolved upon Caligula: Afit of sickness which befell him in the beginning of his Reign,

Reign, and the admirable solicitude of all People for his Recovery. His popularity, and certain performances of his own, in honour to Tiberius, his Mother, Father and Brother. His Consulship, his Munisicence to the People, the Senate, and the Equestrian Order. His Plays, and Spectacles. The publick works which he perfected, began, and designed. His Vices. His Arrogance against the Gods, and Men; his in-Jolent expressions against his Relations: his incest with his own Sifters. His marriages, how unworthily contracted, how wickedly continued, and how barbaroufly broken. His manner of behaviour towards his Friends. His pride and violence against the Senate, Magistrates, and all Orders of the People. Tokens of his cruelty. The inhumanity of his actions augmented, by the atrocity of his Expressions. The same cruelty express'd both at his Feasts, and Plays. His Rancor, and Malice against persons of all Ages. His contempt of all Modesty, both in himself and others. His luxury and profuseness, his rapines.

His Military Transactions, his ridiculous expedition into Germany; The care and preparation for his Triumph. His design of cutting off certain of his own Legions. His cruelty both in word and action at his return. His entrance into the City upon his Birth-day, by way of Ovation. His Statue, Form, Complexion, and Disease. His great Considence and Security, and (on the other side) his most Ridiculous Fear. His Cloaths, Shooes, and Habit. To which of the Liberal Arts he was most vehemently inclined. His Propensity to Arts of another Nature, histoo much Favour for such Artists as he ap-

proved.

Of the Murder of Caius Cæsar Caligula; some former Conspiracies against him Discovered. The last

tast Conspiracy managed by Cassius Chera: Presages of his Death: his Tumultuary Funeral. His Wife Cæsoniæ run through, and his Daughters Brains dash'd out against a Wall. The Conditions of those Times; and Observations upon all the Cæsars which were called Caii.

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#### The FIFTH BOOK,

Being the LIFE of

## Tiberius Claudius Casar.

#### The ARGUMENT.

OF Claudius when he was a private person. The Nativity of his Father, his Atchievements, Death, and Honours decreed him afterwards. The Nativity and names of Claudius, his Minority, his being despis'd by all People, by reason of his weak-ness both in body and mind. The Judgment which was given on him by Augustus. His life under Tiberius and Caius, and the contempt they had of him at that time. Several Dangers to which he was expos'd. Of his Em

pire, and Actions therein.

The strange accident by which he arrived at the Government, in the sistieth year of his age. Having established himself, the next thing he consulted, was the security of the People; his Piety to Augustus, Livia, his Relations, M. Anthony, his Brother, Tiberius, and Caius. His Modesty in the Aggrandisement of himself. The Love and Inclination of all People towards him. Conspiracies against him. His sive Consulships, his Assiduity, and modeation in administring Justice. His Inconstancy, and the variety of his Determinations. His Censorship executed wish great inequality. His expedition into Britain, his care of the City. His Works, his Liberality in his Doles to the Peeple. The frequency and Magnificence of the Spectacles he exhibited. Certain

#### A Survey of the Twelve Galars.

tain new Laws which he made, and establish'd in the Commonwealth, some about Ceremonies, some about Civil manners, Some about Military affairs, and some about the State of all Orders, both at home and abroad. The more fecret and interiour Conversation of Claudius in his own Family; his Spouses and his Wives, his Children by three of them, and his behaviour towards his Servants. The Form, and Imperfections. The manner of his Entertainments, his Appetite, his Sleep, his Inclination to Women, and Dice A His cruel and Sanquinary Nature, his Fear and Distrust, his Anger, his Forgetfulness, and Incogitancy, both in his Actions and Discourse. His study of History, and his Writings in that way. His Affection to the study of Greek, and some few Testimonies of his perfection. therein. Of the Death of Claudius. His remorfe towards his latter end, for having Married Agrippina, and adopted Nero. His Testament writ by bimself, and signed by all the Magistrates. He is prevented by Agrippina, and poisoned, his Death, Funeral, Consecration, and certain Remarkable presages of his de-The firming decident by which he arrived enorthwest

verious, is the fiftieth you of his age. Having cft abiffed sinfel, the next thing he conjusted, was the fecurity of the Leople; his Pacy to Augustus, Livia, his
Relation M. Androny, he Brother, Tiberius, and
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#### The SIXTH BOOK,

Being the LIFE of

## Nero Claudius Casar.

The ARGUMENT.

HE Original and Ancestors of Nero; the Family of the Domitii, the Family of the Ænobarbi; the Great-Grandfather, Grandfather, and Father of Nero. His description before he was Emperour; his Birth, with the time and place; the presages of his infelicity, his Childhood, and what remarkable things happen'd to him therein. His Adoption by Claudius, his Institution by Seneca; he discovers the inhumanity of his Nature, the notable things which he performed, upon his admission into the Forum, when he was a young man. His good actions after his arrival at the Empire; he possest himself of the Government upon the death of Claudius, his Piety in the Funeral of Claudius; the Honour he exhibited to the memorie of his Father, and his great respect to his Mother. He reinforces Antium, (where he was born) with fresh Colonies, and a new harbour which he made at a vast expence; some actions and expressions of his betokening a good Nature. His Plays, and Speltacles, exhibited in several sorts. Tiridates entring into the City, is received with incredible Magnificence. The Temple of Janus shut up; his four Consulships; his methods in hearing of Causes, in examining, consulting, giving judgement, and other parts of publick administra

nistration, his inventions about Building; many thing reprehended, corrected, and innovated; his two Expeditions into foreign parts, his Vices and Disparagements. His extravagant inclination to Musick, his singing publickly in Rome, his affection to Horses, and the driving of Chariots; his journey into Achaia, his ignominions oppofing himself in all Contests there. Being return'd out of Greece, he enters Naples, his Chariot drawn with white horses. He enters Rome with Triumphal Pomp. Of Nero's Petulancy, his Lust, his Lavishness and Profusion; his extravagance in Building; his Covetousnef and Extortion; his several Parricides, as of Claudius Britannicus, his own Mother, and his own Wives; his Murders of fundry other persons, either allied to bim by Consanguinity, or Marriage; his cruelty to others. He observed no rules, nor moderation in his Executions. He burnt the City, under pretence of his dislike of the Buildings, and narrowness of the Streets. The miffortunes in his Reign, as a great Plague, and a Defeat in Brittain; his patience, and unconcernment in bearing of Reproach; his declention; the defection in France under the Conduct of Vindex. He is supported by vain and idle hopes from his Astrologers and others; his deportment upon the news of that revolt, when he was at Naples; he writes to the Senate, and begins to be alarm'd; he returns to Rome in great Consternation; he is dejected upon intelligence of the revolt of Galba in Spain, and yet continues his Luxury, and sloth. His designs how vast in some things, how impertinent in others. The ridiculousness, and severity of his preparation for his journey into Gaul; the envy he contracted by an unexpected accident. He is terryfied by his Dreams, his Auspices, and several other Omens. Understanding the rest of his Armies had deserted him, he meditates his Escape; but laying that by again, he deliberates upon Seve-

Several other Expedients; At length he leaves the City, and retires privately to a Country house of Phaon one of his Free-men, where, after long trepidation he kills himself to avoid the insolences impending. His Funeral, his Stature, and inclination, his Habit; his Studies, his Popularity, and Emulation of all such as were in any favour with the People. His desire of perpetuating his Name; his obstinacy in the contempt of all sorts of Religion; his Death, and how it was generally received.

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## The SEVENTH BOOK,

## Being the LIFE of Servius Sulpicius Galba.

The ARGUMENT.

HE Progeny of the Cæsars extinguish'd in Nero which was intimated before by several Presages. Galba's extraction who succeeded Nero, The Elogium of his Family, Galba's Father, Wives and Children, His birth, his Pranomen, Nomen, and Cognomen: The Omens of his future Authority. His reviving an old custome about his Servants and Freemen. His studies; his Wives and his particular observance for Livia Augusta. The honourable commands which he exercis'd both at home and abroad. His condition under Claudius; his administration in Africa; be is presented with the triumphal ornaments and three facerdotal dignities: his recess almost to the middle of Nero's Empire: He is made Governour of Hispania Tarraconensis, where he receives hopes of his future Dominion; he Govern'd that Province eight years, but with much inequality. Being solicited by Vindex to revolt, he accepts the Overture. He is saluted Emperour, stiles himself the Lieutenant of the Senate and People, and began to act as Soveraign? at first the Gods were propitious, but by degrees all his Counsels are disturbed. Nero being kill'd, having deposited the Title of Lieutenant, he assumes the appellation of Cæsar, and begins his journey for Rome; His Entrance into the City ungrateful, by reason of reports which were spread abroad of his great Cruelty and Avarice. His Administration of the Empire;

what things he did well, and what otherwise. All perfons dissatisfied, especially the Souldiers. The Army in the upper Germany, the first that revolts: He thinks to appease them, by his adoption of Piso; but gives Otho opportunity thereby to perfect his designs: several things which portended his ruine. The particulars of his death: his last words: he is deserted by every body: abused by his Enemies when he was dead. His Funeral; a description of his Age, Stature, and Manners, with a relation of the honours decreed to him after his death.

#### The LIFE of

#### Marcus Salvius Otho.

#### The ARGUMENT.

THE Ancestors of Otho, his Father, his Birth, his Youth; his favour with Nero, for whom he keeps Poppæa Sabina, who was taken from her husband, but debauches her, upon which account he was fent away Legat into Spain: Having opportunity of Revenge, he joins himself with Galba: He conceives hopes of the Empire, and by his ambition, and bounty, prepares his way to it. Piso being adopted by Galba, he enters upon his designes, by the help of a sum of Money he had received, and the affiftance of five Halbertiers which belong'd to the Emperours Guards. The Order of the transaction to the killing of Galba, and possessing himself of the Empire. His demeanor at the beginning of his Empire: he is affrighted by Galba's Ghost. The Commencement of the Wars of Vitellius. Otho

Otho desires an accommodation: The fidelity of his Pratorian Cohorts, his Expedition unadvis'd and unhappy, he prevails in three Battles, is overcome in a following one, and resolves to make himself away, his reasons for that resolution. His Death, his Description, and the General Lamentation that was made for him afterwards.

The

#### The LIFE of

### Aulus Vitellius.

#### The ARGUMENT.

CEveral Opinions about the Original of the Vitellii, of I the Emperours Grandfather P. Vitellius, and of his Sons Aulus, Quintus, Publius, and Lucius. The birth, infancy, and youth of Vitellius the Emperour: His condition during the soveraignty of Caius, Claudius and Nero: The honourable offices which he enjoyed, but exercis'd with different reputation: His Wives and Children, his being fent Galba's Lieutenant into the lower Germany. His poverty and indigence at that time. His welcome to the Army, which was then dispos'd to new troubles: being received into the Camp, he ingratiates with the Souldiers in such manner, he is saluted Emperour. His actions and expressions as he was upon his journeyout of Germany to Rome. His entrance into the City; The dishonourable commencement of his reign. He is govern'd himself, and orders all things by the directions of inconsiderable persons especially one of his African Freemen. His great stomach and his sordid evacuation: his cruelty instanced in several executions, and tortures. His Army revolts within eight Months. He attempts to preserve his Empire. He endeavours to accommodate the differences, but in vain, his reputation in Rome, when the Enemy approach'd: he is taken by their forlorn, and slain by them with great insolence, and contempt. The Presages of his death. The

#### The EIGHTH BOOK,

Being the LIFE of

## Titus Flavius Vespasianus.

The ARGUMENT.

OF the Family of the Flavii; of the Grandfather, and Father of Vespasian; the honourable imployments which he bore; his Wife, Children, and Concubine; his condition under Claudius, and his Exploits in his Wars; his imployments under Nero; his Command in the Wars against the Jews: Otho and Vitellius being in contest for the Empire, he conceives hopes of carrying it from them both, upon remembrance of certain old Prodigies; part of the Moesian Army proclaims him Emperour at Aquileia; Tiberius Alexander having the Command of the Forces in Alexandria, declares for him, and afterwards the Army in Judea: His beginnings encouraged by several accidents: He comes to Alexandria, where his hopes are confirmed de novo: Receiving the news of the death of Vitellius, he takes the Empire upon him, and makes himself the more venerable by certain Miracles which he perform'd: Vefpasian returns to Rome; he take upon him the Censorship, and establishes the Commonwealth: Having repair'd several old publick Works, and erected several new, he added great beauty to the City: He purges the Senate, and Equestrian Order,

and puts better men in their places: He regulates his Laws, restrains Luxury, and Lust: His Civility and Ciemency; his great greediness after Money, yet whatever he came by illegally, he disposed of to the publick advantage: His bounty to all people; the infamy conceived against him, upon his former Covetousness: His stature, health, way he preserved it: His raillery, and jeering: His disease, death, and the fore-knowledge he had of his own fate, and his Families.

The

#### The LIFE of

#### Titus Flavius Vespasianus Augustus.

#### The ARGUMENT.

TIS Birth, and Education; the Empire promis'd him by Metoposcopy; the endowments both of his body and mind; his Military education; his pleading at the Bar in Causes of extraordinary importance; his Wives and Children: Having the Command of a Legion in the Wars against the Jews, he behaves himfelf with great Courage and Gallantry. Being sent by his Father to congratulate Galba, upon his advancement to the Empire, hearing of the new Commotions, he returns back to him upon his journey; who Conquers Judea, and is saluted Emperour: He is suspected to have run from his Father; but he returns to Rome, takes off all suspicions that were upon him, and behaves himself as a true Protector of the people: He takes upon himself the care of all Offices, particularly the Steward-(hip of his Fathers Palace, which was never executed before by any above a Roman Knight. He was aspers'd with being Cruel, Luxuriou, Libidinous, and Rapacious; but at his coming to the Crown, he dispell'd those Suspicions easily. His wonderful bounty to all sorts of people: The misfortunes and disasters which fell out in his time, he remedied by his benignity: He took upon himself the High Priesthood, that he might keep his bands and his faith pure and immaculate: His death, and compunction for one action only: The time, and place where he died, and the general and inexpressible Sadness through the whole City. The

#### The LIFE of

#### Titus Flavius Domitianus.

The ARGUMENT.

WHen, and where he was born; how he demeaned himself in his youth; his Conduct in the Wars of Vitellius; he is saluted by the name of Cæsar, and under pretence of his Prator ship of the City, exercises Soveraign Authority in the absence of his Father: He undertakes an Expedition into France and Germany, in emulation of his Brother; he pretends to modesty, and the study of Poetry; he attends all occasions of making himself absolute; his deportment towards his Brother, after his Fathers death; his constant retirement for an hour every day; bis Wife Domitia; how he carried himself in his publick administrations; the magnificent and sumptuous Spectacles which he exhibited to the people; he restores the Plays exhibited formerly by the Quastors, and is present at them constantly himself; he institutes to Jupiter Capitolinus certain Contentions in wrestling, Musick, Oratory, Poetry, &c. His liberality to the people, the Senate, and the Equestrian Order; the Buildings which he repaired or erested; his Expeditions partly spontaneous, and partly of necessity; his Victory over Antonius Primus, known at Rome by certain presages, before any intelligence could be brought. Many things innovated by him for the common advantage; his method in judicial affairs; he restrains the Exorbitances of the City Magistrates, and the Presidents of Provinces: Having assum'd the Censor ship, he executes it with great severity:

rity: At first he was gentle and merciful, but afterwards degenerated, and became cruel, and by degrees avaritious, and full of all manner of Extortion: His Barbarity, Confidence, and Arrogance: His Friends, his Servants, and his Wife conspire against him: His anxiety and disquiet upon his fore-knowledge of the year, day, and hour he should dye: His caution to evade his destruction, hastens it: Several Prodigies which presaged his death: The terrour which was upon him, about the time of his fatality: The manner of the Conspiracy, and his Murder: The time in which he was slain: his Funeral, his stature, the modesty of his Countenance, his Baldness, his Manners and Studies; his libidinous excesses; his death, how resented by the Souldiers, Senate, and People. Predictions of future felicity after the death of Domitian.

Cains

C. JULIUS CASARI-MA



# C. JULIUS CA SARthe First



# Cains Snetonius Tranquillus, OFTHE TWELVE CÆSARS.

# FIRST BOOK

Being the

# LIFE

DIVUS JULIUS CESAR,

Emperour of ROME.

Dlius Casar was but sixteen years old when his Father died: The next year he was designed Flamen Dialis, or High Priest of Jupiter, and having divorc'd himself from Cossula (whose birth was not so eminent as her fortune, and to whom he had been contracted in his Minority) he Married Cornelia the Daughter of Cinna (who had been four times Consul) by whom he had his Daughter

Daughter Julia. Sylla used all possible arguments to have separated him from her, but he would never be induced, infomuch that having fequestred his Sacerdotal Dignity, his Wives Dower, and his Paternal Estate, no wonder if he suspected his adherence to his Enemies. And indeed to evade the indignation of fo puissant a person, Casar was constrained to abscond, to change his Quarters every night (though under the violence of a Quartan Ague) and to bribe himself out of their hands who had Orders to arrest him: At length by the intercession of the Vestal Virgins, Mamercus Emilius, and Aurelius Cotta, his near Kinfmen, he obtained indemnity; But certain it is, that when Sylla had for a long time relisted the importunities of his intimate Friends, and fuch persons of quality as had interposed in his behalf, being at last overcome, he cry'd out, as inspired, or by way of Prediction, Take him then, if you must have him; but know, the person for whom you have been so zealous, will be the destruction of the Nobility and Common Interest we have so ardently defended; for I assure you, in Cæfar there are many Marii.

2. His first bearing Arms was in Asia, as a Voluntier, or Reformade, under M. Thermus the Prætor, by whom being sent into Bithynia to expedite the Fleet, he protracted the time of his stay with Nicomedes, and was suspected to be his prostitute, which jealouse was much confirmed, when he returned suddenly to him again, upon no greater pretence, than the solliciting for Monies due to a Libertine his Client; but his succeeding gallantries removed those aspersions and presented him with a Civick Crown at the taking of Milyene.

3. He served also in Cilicia under Servilius Isan-

ricus, but that was not long, for hearing of Sylla's death, and hoping for new troubles from the difcontents of M. Lepidus, he returned immediately to Rome, yet not daring to put any confidence in his Conduct, when he came there; and finding things less probable than he expected, he could not be wrought to his Party, though Lepidus made him fair proffers, and used all means possible to ingage him.

4. When those discords were over he accused Cornelius Dolabella (a Confular man, and one that had triumph'd) of Extortion; but being unable to make good his Charge, and Dolabella acquit, he thought fit to withdraw to Rhodes, as well to decline the envy he had contracted, as to study with more leifure under Apollonius Molon, one of the most celebrated Orators of those times; Having embark'd himself in Winter with this design, he was taken by Pyrats off the Isle of Pharmacufa, in whose clutches he continued near forty days, with great perturbation; during the most part of his restraint he had only with him, a Physitian, and two Valets de Chambre, the rest of his Companions and Servants being fent in the beginning of his Captivity to raife Money for his Ranfom; fifty Talents being paid, they fet him on shoar: to recompence their kindness, he puts immediately to Sea, pursues, overtakes, takes, and executes them, as he had often threatned en raillerie, when he was their prifoner. Mithridates in the mean time making great. devastation in the Neighbouring Countries, and he thinking it dishonourable to lie still, whilst the Allies were in distress, past from Rhodes into Asia, and leavying what Forces he could, he beat his Governour out of those Provinces, and confirmed severat

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veral Cities in their allegiance, which before were

inclining to a Revolt.

5. The first dignity conferred upon him by the suffrage of the People after his return to Rome, was, the Military Tribuneship; as long as he enjoy'd it, he was a strenuous supporter of that Party which stood for the restitution of the Authority of the Tribunes, which had been much weakned by Sylla: By an Act of the Commons, pass'd at the motion of Plosius, he obtained that Lu. Cinna, his Wives Brother, and several others (which had followed him in his confederacy with Lepidus, and sled with him to Sertorius, after he was killed) should be recalled; in order to which, he made an Oration to the People himself.

6. Being Quaftor, he made Funeral Orations (as the custome was) in the praise of Julia, (his Aunt by the Fathers side) and Cornelia his Wise. In his commendation of his Aunt, speaking of the Extraction of her self and Father, he has these Words; My Aunt Julia by the Mother-side was descended from Kings, and by the Fathers, she was allied to the Gods; for from Ancus Marcius, the Marcii (surnamed REGES) are derived, and the Julii (which is our Family) from VENUS. In our House therefore, we have the Majesty of Kings, (who are the most Potent amongst Men) and the Veneration of the Gods, (who are more powerful than they.)

7. His Wife Cornelia being dead, he Married Pompeia the Daughter of Q. Pompeius, and Grand-Daughter to L. Sylla, but she was repudiate in a short time, upon suspicion of Adultery with Clodius, and a consident report, that he had access to her in the habit of a Woman, whilst they were upon Publick and Divine Ceremonies; and so strongly had

this

this rumour obtained, that by express order of the Senate, he was to be indited of Sacrilege. Being Quafter, the Government of the farther part of Spain fell to his Lot, where by Order from the Prator, as he was making his Circuit, and keeping the Courts of Justice in that Province, he arrived at Cadez; where, observing the Image of Alexander the Great in the Temple of Hercules, he fetch'd a deep figh, as conscious of his own sloth, for having done nothing Remarkable, at the Age wherein he had conquered the World; upon which contemplation, he beg'd immediately to be dismist, that he might attend some greater enterprize at Rome. Having dream'd also the night before that he had ravish'd his Mother, it exalted him exceedingly, when the Interpreters told him, it was a prefage of his Dominion over the whole Earth, feeing the Mother, which seemed to have been violated, could be nothing but the Earth, which was the common Parent of all,

8. Departing therefore from thence before his Commission was expired, he went amongst the Latin Colonies, who at that time were pressing their infranchisements, and he had questionless excited them to sedition, had not the Consuls frustrated his designs, by retaining the Legions for some time in those parts, which were appointed for Cilicia, which yet could not hinder him from greater pra-

Ctifes in Rome.

9. For not many days before he entred upon the Adileship, he was suspected of conspiracy with M. Crassus (a Consular Man) Pu. Sylla, and Antronius, who (after they had been designed Consuls) were convict of ambition, and corrupt procuring of Voices. Their design was to have set upon the Senate in the beginning of the year, and having cut

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fuch throats as they thought convenient, Crassius was to have made himself Dictator, Cafar General of the Horse, the Republick to have been settled according to their contrivance, and Sylla and Antronius to be restored to the Consulship: Tanusius Geminus makes mention of this Conspiracy in his History, M. Bibulus in his Edicts, and C. Curio the Elder, in his Orations. Cicero also (in one of his Epistles to Axius) seems to allude to it in these words, Cafar in his Confulhip Establish'd that Monarchy which he had contrived when he was Ædile. Tanusus adds, that Crassius, (toucht either with fear or remorfe) ablenting himself the day on which their Plot was to be Executed, Cafar gave not the fignal as was agreed, which, as Curio reports, was to have been given by throwing his Gown from his Shoulders. The faid Curio, and M. Actorius Nafo, affirm he was in another conspiracy with Cn. Pifo, (a young Nobleman to whom the Government of Spain was irregularly given, to frustrate some designs he was fuspected of at home) it was agreed betwixt them, that he should make what Party he could abroad, and Cafar in Rome; but Pifo dying, that project dyed with him.

the Comitium (where their Magistrates were chosen) the Market-places, and their Halls of Justice, but he adorned the Capitol with Galleries erected for the present solemnity, wherein part of the preparation might upon occasion be exposed, Baiting of Wild Beasts, Stage-Plays, and such other infinuations with the people, he exhibited by himself, and with his Collegue, but with such artifice, and cunning, that he appropriated the credit of a common expence, and gave Bibulus good reason to complain that his fortune

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fortune and Pollax's were the same; for (says he) as the Temple Erected in the Market-place, and dedicated to both the Brothers was called the Temple of Castor alone: so our joint Muniscence is imputed only to Casar. But to all these pastimes, and recreations for the People, Casar added his Gladiators, yet not in such numbers as he propos'd, for having sent for them in Multitudes from all parts, his Enemies took the Alarm, and publish'd an Edict restraining him to a certain number, which was not to be exceeded in Rome.

11. Having foftned and cajoled the people in this manner, his next defign was (by the interest of some of the Tribunes) to get the Province of Egypt conferred upon him by their Act; That which gave him encouragement in fo unufual an attempt was, that the People of Alexandria had driven out their King, who was at that time look'd upon by the Senate, as their Friend and Allie; but this propolition being oppos'd by the Nobility, that plot fell to the ground: To be reveng'd of their unkindness, he endeavoured all ways to lessen their Authority; he repaired the Trophics and Monumonts Erected in memory of Ca. Marins his Victories over Jugartha, the Cimbrians, and Tewors, which Sylli had thrown down: being also by commission to try fuch persons as should be accused of Murder, he reckon'd them into the number, who had receiv'd Mony out of the Treasury for the heads of such persons as were profcrib'd though they were indemnify'd, and particularly excepted by the Cornelian Laws.

12. He suborned witnesses, which accused C. Rabirius of Treason, for that not many years before, the Senate, by his particular assistance, suppress the seditious endeavours of L. Saturninus the Tribune,

being deputed his Judge, he condemn'd him with fo much animosity, that he appeal'd to the people, and nothing so much inclin'd them to his favour, as

the vehemence of the Judge.

13. Having given over all hopes of his Government in Egypt, his next design was to make himfelf High Priest, which he manag'd with so much extravagant profuseness, that revolving with himfelf the vast sums he had borrowed, 'tis reported he should say to his Mother when he took his leave of her that Morning he went to the Election, that is he were not chosen, he would never return; and he was as good as his word, for so far did his liberality prevail above the age and authority of his Competitors, that he had more Voices, in each of their

Tribes, than they had in all.

14. The Conspiracy of Catiline being discover'd in his Prætorship, and the Senate generally condemning him and his accomplices to death, he was the only man that moderated the fentence, and prest their imprisonment and confiscation, and no more; which he performed with fo much ardour and zeal, inculcating the displeasure of the people, and the consequences thereof, that he terrified his adversaries, and made D. Silanus (Conful defign'd) because he could not with honour intirely recant, to apologize and mollifie his advice, as if it had been taken with more feverity than he intended. Nay fo far had he fucceeded, that he had drawn the greatest part of the Senate to his fide, and the Conful, Cicero's Brother amongst the rest: and doubtless, had not Cato's Oration recollected them, the whole Senate had complied. Nevertheless he oppos'd himself against the Execution of the Decree, with that obstinacy, that he was threatned to be kill'd by the Guards which

which attended the House; who coming, in and seting their swords to his throat, menac'd him so, that he was deserted by those which sate next him, and with great difficulty protected by the interposition of his Friends. Then he was frighted indeed, and not only submitted unto the plurality of Voices, but forbare to come to the Senate all the rest of that year.

2. Catulus before the People, about the reparation of the Capitol; and published an Ordinance, by which he transferr'd that Office upon another. But not able to resist the Combination of the Nobility, who had forfaken their attendance upon the Confuls, and came thronging into the Court, in opposition to

him, He gave over that also.

16. Cecilius Metellus, a Tribune of the People, having made and exhibited pernitious Laws, contrary to the judgments and approbation of his Colleagues; he espoused his Quarrel, afferted his Laws, and defended with fuch violence, that at length they were both of them interdicted by Decree of the Senate; Nevertheless Cesar continued in the execution of his Magistracy, contumaciously administring justice, till he understood there were Souldiers appointed to interrupt him: Then he dismist his Littors, devested himself of his purple Robe, and retired privately to his own house, as submitting to the iniquity of that time: Two days after, the People came to him in great throngs of themselves, and in a tumultuous way, proffer'd him their affiftance, but he appeas'd them beyond all expectation: And fo well was it interpreted by the Senate (which was then hastily assembled about that very Commotion) that he had the thanks of the House by the principal persons amongst mongst them, was re-invited into the Senate, commended, restored, and the Decree for his suspension revok'd.

17.He fell again into troubles afterwards and was accused as a Conspirator with Catiline, by L. Vetius before Novius Niger the Quæstor, and before the Senate by Q. Curius, to whom they had ordered a publick reward, for that he had first discovered their deligns. Curius pretended, Cafar was the first imparted the plot to him; Vetius promis'd to produce a Letter of his to Catiline under his own hand; But Cafar, looking upon that scandal as insupportable, appeal'd to the testimony of Geero, to whom he had made some voluntary detection; by which means, he not only brought himself off, but hindred Curius of the recompence decreed him. Nor did Vetius escape so well, for having caused him to be fined, his goods to be feized, and himself torn almost in pieces before the Rostra, he at last clapt him in Prison, and the Quastor Novius with him, for his prefumption in calling a Magistrate before him, which was of greater authority than himself.

18. Having finished his Prætorship, the Government of Hispania Ulterior sell to his Lot. His Creditors endeavoured to have stayed him, but he gave them security to their satisfaction. Nevertheless, contrary to all Law and Custom, he departed before his successor was chosen, or the Provinces supplyed, either that he might hasten the relief which the allies had implored, or avoid some process which was privately contriving against him. Having quieted his Province, he returned with the same expedition, not so much as attending the arrival of a Successor, as if he had been impatent of delay, either as to his Triumph or Consulship: But Proclamation

being

being out for the Election of the Confuls, he could not be admitted into the Town but as a private perfon; he prest very earnestly to be dispensed with in that Case, but he found so great opposition, he was glad to wave his triumph, for sear of losing the

Confulship.

19. Lucius and Bibulus, being his Competitors he fided with Lucius, upon condition, that he, being richer (though having a less interest) should distribute his Money among the Certuries for them both: But the Nobility having notice of the Compact, and apprehending, left Cafar advanced to fo absolute an authority, and fortified with a Collegue of his own making, should abuse the trust reposed in him, they prevailed with Bibulus to promife the fame largess, to which (upon Cato's declaring that it was for the service of the Common-wealth) most of them contributed. Whereupon he was made Conful with Bibulus; and to leffen their authority, the Care of the Forrests, High-ways, and matters of smaller importance were obtruded upon them: Casar refenting the affront, infinuated himfelf with all possible artifice into the friendship of Pompey, who at that time was in defiance with the Senate, because after his Victory over Mubridates, they had delayed the ratification of his Acts: He made a reconciliation also betwixt Pompey and Crasfus, composing the animosity and mis-intelligence which had been betwixt them ever fince their Confulfhips, he joyn'd himself so firmly to them both that nothing could be transacted in the State, but by confent of all three.

20. After his promotion to the Confulship, he was the first that ordained a Journal of all Transactions both of the Senate and People, to be kept,

and divulg'd; He revived also the antient Custome, that in those Months the Rods and Axes were not carried before him, the Accensus should usher him, and the Littors or Sergeants follow behind. The Lex Agraria being promulg'd, and his Colleague protesting against it, he drave him out of the place by violence, who, upon his complaint in the Senate next day, finding not any one that would move in the House to have a fray of that high Nature taken into consideration, nor give his vote for Reparation to be made, as they had done formerly upon fmaller occasion; in utter despair, he retired immediately, and kept himself in his house all the rest of his Confulship, not daring to oppose him after that, but only by his Edicts. From this time Cefar had the fole administration and manag'd all things with that uncontroulable arbitrariness, that fome of the pleafantly disposed Citizens, when they fubscribed any will, or record, they dated it in Merriment, not when Cæfar and Bibulus, but when Julius and Cæfar were Confuls, putting the name and furname of one Conful, for the names of them both, and fuddenly after these Verses were dispersed,

Non Bibulo quidquam nuper, sed Cæsare factum: Nam Bibulo sieri Consule nil memini.

All things of late great Cafar acts alone;
Poor Bibulus is out of fashion grown.

As an instance of his power, (not observing the antient way of Lots) he divided the Stellat-Field, (dedicated by their Ancestors to Religious uses) and the Campane Territory (left to the Common-wealth in the nature of a Subsidy) amongst twenty thousand such Citizens

Citizens as should have three Children or more. The Farmers of the Revenues, petitioning for defalcation, in respect of the hardness of their bargain, he abated them a third part of their Rent, with this admonition, that they should bid more warily for the future: Other things he granted also, and without Contradiction; if any were fo audacious as to oppose him, he frighted them into a Concurrence. Cato he caused to be halled violently out of the Senate, and committed, for interrupting him only, and Lucullus expostulating too freely, was made fo fensible of the dangerous effects, that he submitted, and cast himself at his feet. Geero, for but deploring the Miserable State of affairs, (as he called it) faw the same day and that at three a Clock, his principal Enemy P. Clodius translated from the rank of the Senators, to that of the People, a thing he had long folicited from the Senate, but in vain; he fuborned Vetius to give false witness against certain of his adversaries, and to charge them with offering him Money to kill Pompey, but one or two being named, and the practice suspitious, despairing of fo inconsiderate a project, and to prevent any further discovery, he poisoned his Knight of the Poft.

21. About the fame time, he Married Calpurnia, the Daughter of Piso (who was to succeed him in the Consulat) and his own Daughter Julia to Cn. Pompey having rejected her first Husband Servins Capio, (though of all his Friends, he was the only person by whose assistance he had overpowered Bibulus.) After this new Alliance, he began to ask Pompeys Vote, the first of all the Senators, whereas formerly he was wont to begin with Crassus, for it was the Custome to observe the same Order all the

year thorough, with which the Conful began on

New-years day.

22. Being affished in this manner by the interests of his Wives Father, and his Son in Law, amongst all the Provinces he made choice of France as the most profitable, and most probable for his triumph: His first Province was only Gallia Cifalpina, and Illyricum, added to it by the Act of the Popular Assembly at the procurement of Valerius) But afterwards they gave him Transalpina also, as apprehending, if they did not, the People would give it him themfelves; with which advancement he was fo elated, that he could not contain from boafting in a full Affembly a while after, that he had laid his enemies upon their backs, and would keep them under for the future, to which one (alluding to his Sodomy with Nichomede) answering, That it would be no easie matter for a Woman, he reply'd without any notice of the Sarcasm, That Semiramis had done it in Assifia, and the Amazones had subjected a great part of Afia.

23. Having ended his Confulship, and E. Memmius, and Lu. Domitius the Prætors, having made Report of what Acts had past the year before, he referred the disquisition to the Senate, but observing them delatory, and to have consumed three whole days in impertinent disputes, he departed to his Province. After which, it was not long before his Quastor was accused of certain delinquencies, and a while after, himself, by Lu. Antistius a Tribune of the People; But appealing to the Colledge at last, he obtained, that in respect he was absent upon the Publick service, he should not be impleaded. For his security therefore for the future, he made it his business to oblige, and ingratiate with the annual

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Magistrates, and in all Competitions to side with, and assist only such as would espouse his interest in his absence, of which he was then so careful and sollicitous, that he gave some of them an Oath, and exacted it from others, under their hands and Seals.

24. L. Domitius being a Candidate, or Pretender to the Confulship, having swaggered openly that he would do when he was Conful, what he could not when he was Prætor; and that he would take away the Command of his Army from him: Cafar having confulted with Crassus and Pompey at Luca, (a City in his Province) prevailed with them to stand again for the Confulship in opposition to Domitius, and to renew his Commission for five years longer, and he fucceeded in both: Upon which, he took the confidence to add fome certain Legions of his own private raising, to what he had received of the State. One of them raised in the Countries beyond the Alps he called by a French word, Alanda, which he bred up and instituted in the Roman Customes and Discipline, and made them all afterwards free of the City. With these Troops he fought all occasions of making of War, infesting his Confederates as well as Enemies, infomuch that the Senate had once decreed, to fend Commissioners into France, to examine the State of affairs there, and some propounded to have him delivered up to the Enemy. But he was fo fortunate in all his enterprizes, that he had more thankfgiving days than any of his Predecessors.

25. His atchievements during the 9 years in which he had the principal Command of the Army, were generally these; He reduc'd into a Province all that part of France which lies betwirt the Pyrenean

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Mountains, the Alps, the Mountains Gerbenna, the Rhine, and the Rhosne, which contains 3200. miles in circumference (besides such Towns as had merited well, and allied themselves to him before.) He impos'd 40000000 of Sesterces upon them in the nature of a Tribute. He was the first of all the Romans who built a Bridge over the Rhine, affail'd the Germans on the other side the River, and gave them feveral confiderable defeats. He invaded the Britains also, which were till then unknown, and having over-run them in a short time, he forced them to give him Hostages and Contribution: Amongst all the variety and greatness of his Enterprizes, he never had ill fortune but thrice; The first upon the Coasts of Britain, where his whole Fleet had like to have miscarried by storm; the second in France, where one of his Legions was intirely cut off; and the third on the Frontiers of Germany, when Titurius and Aurunculeius his Lieutenants, were circumvented by an Ambuscade, and defeated.

26. About the same time, he lost his Mother, his Daughter, and Grand-Daughter by the faid Daughter, and not long after Clodius was killed, and the Common-wealth in great consternation; infomuch that the Senate having refolved to Create but one Conful, and that Cn. Pompey should be the Man, Cefar prevail'd with the Tribunes of the People, (who were endeavouring to make him his Colleague) that they should rather propose to the People, that in respect of his absence upon the Publick affairs, they would grant him a capacity of being created again, when his Government was expired, lest otherwise he should be constrained to leave the Wars (he had so prosperously begun) immature and unfinished; having succeeded in his defires

and

fires, and his hopes enlarged with his defigns, there was no kind of bounty or munificence which he omitted to all people, either in publick or private: He began the structure of his Forum or Town-Hall, which he built with the spoils of his Enemies, and paid above a hundred Millions of Sesterces for the Area, or ground on which it stood : having pronounced a folemn Sword-play, and feast, to the people, in memory of his Daughter, (which no man ever had done before) to make it the more acceptable to them, he not only imployed all the Cooks and Victualers of the City to provide what they could get, but he made preparations also as much as possible at home: if any of the most eminent Gladiators were in extraordinary danger of their lives, when on any occasion the Spectators were incens'd against them, he ordered them to be taken away by force, and referved for another time: fuch as were to be trained up to that faculty, he suffered not to be taught in any publick Schools, or by any Masters of defence, but in private houses, by Roman Knights, and fuch of the Senators as were most dexterous and skilful at their Arms, befeeching them(as is still evident in his Epistles) that they would undertake them, and give them their Rudiments themfelves. He doubled the pay of his Legions in perpetuum. When his Magazines were well stored, he gave them provisions without measure, and once he gave each Souldier a flave, and a Farme.

27. To continue his friendship and affinity with Pompey, he promis'd him Octavia (his Sisters grand-Daughter, though she was married to C. Marcellus) and made an overture to marry his Daughter, who was contracted also before to Faustus Sylla. Having in order to this obliged all people about Pompey,

and most part of the Senators, either by giving or lending them Monies, upon very reasonable terms; he ingratiated likewise with the rest by frequent invitations, or noble presents, when they came of themselves, not forgetting to let their servants and relatives to participate of his bounty, according as they stood fair in the favour of their Masters. All Criminals, all Debtors and Prodigals, had their Sanctuary in him, provided their Crimes, their Debts, and Necessities, were not beyond the latitude of his Relies: In that case he was wont to tell them whose condition was so desperate, in plain terms, They had nothing to pray for but a Civil War.

28. Nor was he less studious of infinuating with forreign Princes and Provinces. To some he would make prefents of Prifoners by the thousands; to others he would fend supplies, as many and as often as they defired, without the confent or authority either of Senate or People: Besides this, he beautified and adorned the most eminent Cities in Italy, France, Spain, Asia, and Greece, with their most confiderable buildings. Till at length all people being in amazement whither thefe things did tend, M. Claudius Marcellus the Conful, having by preface to his Edict defired to confer about the great affairs of the Common-wealth, he proposed to them at their meeting, that they would name a Successor to Cafar, before his time was expired, because the War being finished, and Peace established, it would be convenient that Army should be disbanded. That the Senate was not obliged to have any regard to the absence of Cafar, feeing Pompey had not abrogated that act of the People by their confent, for fo it happened, in the Law he made for the Regulation of Magistrates, strates, in an Article in which all fuch as were absent were excluded from those dignities, he forgot to except Casar, which error afterwards when the law was ingraven and inrolled, he would have corrected, but too late. Nor was Marcellus contented to deprive him of his Provinces, and the priviledge of his absence, but he moved also that the Colonies with Casar had fent to Novum Comum by virtue of the Law Vatinia, should be dis-infranchised again, and their freedom of the City be taken from them,

as obtained contrary to form.

29. Cafar being nettled at this, and judging (as he was often heard to fay) it less easie for him, being the first man in the City, to be deprest to the fecond, than from the fecond to the last, he applyed all the refistance he was able; partly by the intercessions of the Tribunes, and partly by the interest of Sulpitius the other Conful: The next year C. Marcellus, fucceeding his Cousin German by the Fathers fide Marcus Marcellus in the Confulship; and promoting the same designs against Cafar, by vast Bribes and Gratuities he wrought oft Amilius Paulus, (his Collegue) and Caius Curio (a most turbulent Tribune) to his side. Yet all things being still carried on with great obstinacy, and the Confuls defigned, ingaging fiercely against him, by addresses to the Senate, he did humbly request, that either that favour and priviledge from the people, might be made good to him; or that all other Generals might lay down their Commands. Supposing (as was imagined) he should with more ease (upon occasion) recollect his Veterane Troops, than Pompey his new. He proposed also to his Adversaries, by way of Capitulation, that he would difmiss eight of his Legions, and resign all that part of Gaule which lies beyond the Alps, upon condition that he might retain the Province of Cifalpina and two Legions, or one Legion and the Government of

Illyricum, till he was created Conful.

30. But neither the Senate interpoling, nor his Adversaries complying with his desires, as not thinking it fit to capitulate with a Subject in matters of State : he past into the nether part of France, where, having executed his Provincial Jurisdictions, he remained at Ravenna, with full resolution to oppose with his Sword, whatever Decree the Senate should make against the intercessions of the Tribunes of the People who were of his party. And this was his pretence for his Civil wars, though others were of another opinion. Pompey was us'd to fay, that not being able to finish those publick buildings, which with fo much magnificence he had begun, nor to fatisfie the expectations of the people at his return with his private Estate, he resolved to put all things into confusion. Others say he was jealous of being questioned for what he had done illegally in his first Consulship, contrary to the Auspices, Laws, and Remonstrances of the Tribunes; and the rather because Cato had solemnly sworn to impeach him, as foon as he had parted with his Army; and it was the general talk, that if he returned as a private perfon, they would handle him as they did Milo, and make him answer before the Judges with strong guards about him: which feems the more probable by these words which Asimus Pollio affirms he spake at the Battel of Pharfalia when he faw his Adversaries run: This is their own doings, I my self must have been condemned, after so many noble exploits, had I not begg'd the affiftance of my Army. Some there are which believe that having been to long accustom'd

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forces, and his Enemics, he laid hold of that occafion to usurp, which he had attended from the beginning: and of this opinion Cicero seemed to be,
when in the third book of his Offices he says, that
Casar had frequently two verses of Euripides in his
mouth, which he rendred thus in Latin:

Nam si violandum est jus, regnandi gratia Violandum est: aliis rebus pietatem colas.

Ne're stand on justice when the stake's a Crown; In lesser things pretend Religion.

31. When word was brought him that the intercession of the Tribunes was ineffectual, and that they themselves were departed out of Rame, he gave private orders to his Troops to march immediately, & that no fuspicion of his designs might arise, he was present that day at a publick spectacle, he furvey'd and advised about the Model of a new Theatre he had deligned for his Sword-plays, and was present at a publick entertainment as before. But after Sun fet having made bold with a Bakers Mules, which were then at hand, and clapt them fuddainly into his Chariot, he began his journey with as much fecrefie, and as finall attendance as was possible: his Torches going out he lost his way, and wandred up and down a great part of the night, but towards break of day he got a guide, and leaving his Chariot, was glad to march on foot through by Lanes and fuch places, to recover his Road, which at length he did, and coming up to his Troops at the banks of Rubicon, he stood still a while ruminating upon the Enterprise he was undertaking, at last turning ning to those which were next to him, he said, Thus far we are safe, and may return if we please; if we pass but this bridge, we shall have nothing to trust to but our Arms.

pence there appeared to him a person of a remarkable stature, and beauty, sitting hard by him, and playing upon a Reed: not only the Shepheards, but several of the Souldiers ran to hear him, and some of the Trumpeters amongst the rest, which being observ'd by this Piper, he took his opportunity, snatcht a Trumpet out of one of their hands, and leaping suddainly into the Water, he sounded a Charge, and continued it to the other side of the River: Upon which, Casar cryed out, Come then, it is decreed, let us go on whither the Prodigies of the Gods,

and the Iniquity of our Enemies invite us.

33. Having pass'd his Army over the River, and joyned himself with the Tribunes of the people, who upon their expulsion out of the City were retired to him: he made an Oration to the Souldiers, and with tears in his eyes, he implor'd their fidelity and affistance. It was reported also, that he promifed each of them a Knights Fee, but that was a mistake; for shewing them often his Ring finger upon his left hand, as he was speaking, and affirming that he would willingly strip himself even to his Ring, rather than they should go unsatisfied who afferted his honour; those who were remote, and could fee better than hear, imagining from their eye, that he had spoke what they desired, gaye out he had promised them the dignity of the Ring, (which was worn only by the Roman Knights) and 400000. Sefterces into the bargain.

34. The order and fum of his subsequent at-

chieve-

chievements is this: he possess himself of Picenum, Umbria, and Etruria; Lu. Domitius who was tu-multuously nominated his successor, having a Garison in Corfinium, he reduc'd, and dismist; marching from thence along the Adriatick Coasts towards Brundusium, whither Pompey and the Confuls were fled for more convenient and speedy transportation: He imployed all his industry to prevent or retard them, but finding it in vain, he returned to Rome. Having called the Senate together, and advis'd about the most weighty matters of State, he marched into Spain, against the most considerable of Pompey's forces, under the Command of M. Per treins, L. Afranius, and M. Varro; and faid publickly amongst his friends at his going away, He was going against an Army without a General, But at his return, his next Expedition would be against a General without an Army. The shutting of the Gates against him at Marseilles, and the incommodities of that Leaguer, was no small impediment to his March, yet he overcame all, reduc'd that Town, and fettled Spain in a short time.

things in good Order there, he sets out for Macedon against Pompey himself, besieges and blocks him up in his own Camp for sour months together, with incredible labour, and at last deseated him utterly at the battel of Pharsalia: he pursued him into Alexandria, finds him slain by Ptolomey, who was conspiring the same Entertainment for him: where upon he was ingaged in a most desperate war there, as neither having time nor place to defend himself; Yet though it was Winter, and his supplies (by consequence) uncertain, though he was shut up within the same walls, with a numerous

and fubtile Enemy, and unprovided of all kind of necessaries, he overcame them at last, made himfelf Master of all Egypt, and gave the Command of it to Geopatra, and her youngest Brother, when he had done: not daring to make it a Province, left falling afterwards into the hands of a violent or pragmatical Governour it might yield new cause of Commotion: From Alexandria he went into Syria, and from thence into Pontus, upon news that Pharnaces the Son of Mithridates, elated with feveral victories, had taken that opportunity to make war upon the Romans: The fifth day after his arrival, he engaged him, and in four hours after heappear'd in fight, he beat him quite out of the field. The caliness of this Victory made him often commemorate the felicity of Pompey, who had acquired fo great Glory upon fo pitiful and pusillanimous an Enemy. After these, he reduced Scipio, and Juba, (who had rallied some of the remaining Troops in Africa) and Pompey's fons in Spain.

defeat, but in his Lieutenants, of which number C. Curio miscarried in Africk, C. Antonius was taken Prisoner, P. Dolabella lost his Fleet in Illyricum, and Cn. Domitius his Army in Pontus: In all his own Encounters he was fortunate, and never in any hazard but twice; once at Dyrrachium, where Pompey repuls'd him, but not prosecuting his advantage, Casar declared he knew not how to make the best use of a Victory: his next Exigence was in his last battel in Spain in which his affairs were so desperate, he had once thoughts of dispatching

himfelf.

37. His wars being ended he triumpht five times; after he had defeated Scipio, four times in a month, but

but with some intermission of days; and once more after his victory over the Sons of Pompey: his sirst, and most magnificent triumph was that of the Gaules, the next of Alexandria, the third of Pontus, the fourth of Africk, and the last of Spain; the Pomp and preparation of each of them, was different and various. On the day of his Gallick Triumph, the Axle-tree of his Chariot breaking, he had like to have been cast upon the ground: He ascended to the Capitol with lights, having forty Elephants attending him on both hands, with carriers of Torches: In his Pontick Triumph, upon his several Pageants, this Motto was inscribed, VENI, VIDI, VICI, importing not so much the Acts, as

the expedition of his Conquests.

38. In lieu of their Plunder, he gave every footfoldier of the Veterane-Legions, besides the two thousand Sestertii, at the beginning of the troubles four thousand more, and to each of the horse 24000. He affigned Lands to them alfo, but not contiguous, lest any of the possessions should be disleised; He gave the people besides X Modii of Corn, and as many Pints of Oyl, 300 Sestertii apiece which he had promifed them of old, and 100 more in confideration of their forbearance: he remitted also a years rent to fuch as were in arrear for their habitations in Rome, if it exceeded not 2000 Seffertis, but to the rest of Italy but 500. To these Liberalities he added a publick Feast, a general distribution of raw flesh, and two dinners after his Victory in Spain, for supposing the first not suitable to his Grandeur, five dayes after, he made another far more magnificent.

39. He exhibited also several forts of Shews and divertisements to the people, as Prizes, and

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Stage-Plays acted in all Languages, and all quarters of the Town: he presented them with the pastimes of the Greus, Wrestlings, and fights at Sea. Furius Leptinus of the Prætorian Race, and Q. Calpenus, fometime a Senator and Pleader at the Bar, play'd a Prize in the Market-place: The Pyrric or warlike Dance, was danced by the Sons of the Princes of Asia and Bythinia: During these Playes Decimus Laberius, a Roman Gentleman, acted a Farce of his own so well, that Cafar gave him 500000 Sesterces, a Ring of Gold, and place amongst the Knights, to whose Seats he past immediately from the Stage. To make the Circensian Games more acceptable and great, he inlarged the Circus on both sides, and designed in it a winding Euripus. Here it was the young Cavaliers of the best families in Rome shewed their dexterity and address in vaulting from one Horse to another, and managing their Chariots some with four Horses, and others with two: The Trojan Game was performed by two Troops, one of greater, the other of leffer boyes. For five dayes together there were feveral wild Beafts baited, and last of all a kind of a pitch'd Battel, betwixt 500 Foot, 300 Horse, an 20 Elephants of a side, the Goals being taken away for their greater liberty, and two Camps (or Tents) confronting one another fet up in their stead. The Wrestlers having a place prepared for them in the Campus Martins, continued that exercise three dayes together. The Naumachia, or Sea-fight, was represented (in a Lake cut on purpose near the lelser Codeta) by the Gallies of Tyre, and Egypt, with two, three, and four ranks of Oars, all very well mann'd: for the feeing of which fights, there was fo great a confluence of people, people, most part of the strangers were glad to make use of Tents and Booths set up in the streets and high wayes instead of houses; many persons were killed in the Crowds, and amongst them two Senators.

40. Applying himself after this to the settlement of the State, he reformed the Kalender, which, by the ignorance, or corruption of the Priests, or the liberty they took of interlacing (their months and dayes) was become so confused, that neither the Harvest Holy-dayes fell out in Summer, nor the Vintage in Autumn. He accommodated the whole year to the course of the Sun, made it to consist of 365 dayes, and having taken away the leap month, he superinserted only one day in every fourth year. But to the end that the Computations of time might be more exact for the future, by commencing the account from the Kalends of January; he interposed two Months betwixt November and December, fo that in the year this reformation was made. there were fifteen Months with the ordinary Leap Month which fell in that year on courfe.

41. He filled up the Senate, chose new Patritii, increas'd the number of the Prators, Adiles, Quaftors, and other inseriour Magistrates. Such as were degraded by the Censors, or condemned of Bribery, or corrupt acquisition of their places, he restored. The power of Election of Magistrates, he parted with the people; (Except in the competition for the Consulship) one half of the Candidates were declared by them, the other by himself, which he signified by little Billets sent to the Tribes in these words, Casar Dictator; To this or that Tribe, &c. I recommend such or such a person to you, that by your suffrage he may be admitted into such or such

fuch an Office. He preferr'd the Children of fuch as had been proscrib'd, unto places of honour. He restrained all Judgments to two forts of Judges, one of them of the Order of Knights, the other of Senators, fuppressing the third, which was the Tribunes of the Treasury. He took the number of the poorer fort of people, by the Land-Lords, neither in the usual manner, nor place, but Street by Steet: 2300000 People which had their provision out of the publick Magazines of the Town, he reduc'd to 1,0000. And that no new meetings might at any time arise upon occasion of this Survey, the ordained, that every Prætor should choose a certain number by Lots, of such as were not comprehended in the former Survey, to fucceed in the places of fuch as should die.

42. Having distributed 80000 Citizens of Rome amongst his forreign Colonies, that he might supply or prevent any want of men in the City, he made a Law, that no Citizen being above twenty, or under forty years of age, should be absent out of Italy above three years; unless he was under a Military Oath to the State. That no Senators Son fhould be permitted to travel into other Countries, but in the Train and Company of some Magistrate or other. That those which fed Cattel, should have at least a third part of their Keepers free-born young men: He made the Professors of Physick, and Teachers of the Liberal Arts, free of the City, to encourage them which lived there to continue, and to invite others thither. As for fuch as were in debt, and hop'd by their frequent follicitations to have obtain'd their discharges, he decreed at last they should satisfie their Creditors, and an Estimate being made of all Lands according to the value they were

were purchased at before the Civil Wars, whatever had been pay'd, or was put down for interest upon the account, should by the Debtors be deducted out of the principal, so that the Creditor by this means lost above a third part of his Debt: He dissolv'd all the New Companies and Societies, confirming only such as were of antient Constitution: He enlarged the penalties against Criminals; and because the rich and wealthier fort being only banish'd, without loss of their Estates, were become more licentious, and prone to any kind of wickedness; he made Murther loss of all, (as Cicero reports) and

Man-flaughter of half.

43. In the administration of Justice he was very diligent, and fevere; fuch as were convicted of Extortion, he removed out of the Senate. He brake the Marriage of a person which had been formerly Prator, for marrying a woman within two days after she had been separated from her former husband, though there was no scandal, or suspicion of adultery. He laid imposts upon forein Commodities: He prohibited the use of Litters, the wearing of Purple Robes and Jewels, to all but persons of such a quality and age, and that only upon certain days also. But in nothing was he more vigorously intent, than in the Execution of the Sumptuary Laws; to repress Extravagance in Diet, he not only placed Guards in the Shambles and Butcher-rows, to feize fuch meat as should be fold contrary to Law, but he fent his Sergeants and Officers to particular houses, with Command to take away (though upon their very Tables) fuch dishes as might possibly have escap'd the vigilance of his Guards.

44. For the Embellishment of the City, the Government and augmentation of the Empire, his contrivances were every day greater than other: His chief defign was to have built a Temple to Mars (the most magnificent in the whole world) by filling up, and levelling that Lake in which his Naval Battle was exhibited. His next was, to have erected a stately Theatre near the Mount Tarpeins. To reduce the body of the Civil Law, to a certain mean and mediocrity, and from fo vast and confufed number of Statutes, to felect fuch as were most useful and necessary, and to expose them in abridgments. To build as large Libraries (both for Greek and Latin Authors) as he could possibly, and to commit their Ordering and digefting to M. Varro. To drain the Fenns of Pomptina, to let out the Lake Fucinus, to make a Cawfey from the Adriatick Sea, along the Apennine to Tiber: to cut through the Isthmus at Corinth. To repell the Daci, who had invaded Pontus and Thrace. To make war upon the Parthians in the lesser Armenia, but not to engage them, till he had made a perfect discovery of their force. But death came and nipt all these projects in the Bud; of which before I make any particular relation, it will not be impertinent if I describe him in his person, habit, manners, and actions both Civil and Military.

45. His stature is reported to be tall, his complexion white, his limbs strong and compact, his visage full, his eyes black and lively, his temper found and healthy, only in his latter days he was subject to sounding sits, and to be affrighted in his dreams; Twice also he was surprised with fits of the falling-sickness as he was sitting in judgment. About his body he was so superstitiously eurious, he

was not only clipt and shaved constantly, but had the down or fofter part of his hair pluck'd out by the roots, of which he was many times reproach'd: His baldness was a great trouble to him, and had often exposed him (to his great dif-fatisfaction) to the flouts of his Enemies: To conceal it as much as he could, he had a Custome of wearing his hair comb'd backward over his Crown, from his forehead; and among all the honours conferr'd upon him by the Senate and People, he received none with more pleafure and delight, than the priviledge of wearing a Laurel Garland perpetually. In his cloaths also he was fingularly remarkable, wearing his long Senators Robe, studded with Gold, fringed at the hands, and Girt about, but always loofly. which gave occasion to that expression of Sylla who oftentimes admonish'd the Nobility, To beware of that boy who went girded fo slightly.

46. His first habitation was in a small house in the Suburra; But after he was made High Priest he removed into one of the publick houses belonging to the City in the Via Sacra. Many have writ that he was exceedingly addicted to neatness, and sumptuous hospitality at his Table. Having began, and sinished at a vast expence, a noble house in the Territory of Nemorensis, because it did not exactly answer to his mind, he pull'd it down again to the Ground, though his Estate at that time was but small, and he very much in debt. He had a Custome also, in all his expeditions, to carry square Tiles of chequer'd Marble to pave the place where he took

up his own Quarters.

47. It is reported, he undertook his Voyage into Great Britain, in expectation of Pearls, whose value he could judge by poising them in his hands, he was

was a great Lover, and a most curious Collector of Jewels, Engraveries, Statues, Seals, Pictures, and such kind of Antiquities as were the Originals of the prime Masters of old, at any rate: He spared no cost for his Slaves, if they were young and handsome, buying them sometimes at such rates, as he was ashamed should be known; and therefore would not

fuffer them to be entred in his accounts.

48. In all his Provinces he kept two Constant Tables, one where his Officers and Commanders, the other where the men of his long Robe, and the most Eminent persons of the Province did usually dine. The discipline of his House he kept up so exactly in little things, as well as great, that he clap'd one of his Cutlers into Irons, for having given some of his Guests worse bread than what he had himself, and punish'd another of his Gentlemen (which he loved otherwise very well) with death, for having committed adultery with a Roman Knights Wise, though there was no Complaint brought against him.

49. Nothing reflected upon his Continence fo much as his intimacy with Nicomedes, and that was fo lasting and bitter, it expos'd him to every mans invectives, I omit the Common Verses of Calvus

Licinius.

## Et Padicator Cafaris unquam habuit.

I pass by the Libels of Dolabella, and Curio the Father, with the Edicts of Bibulus, in which he called him Queen of Bithynia, and published, That he loved a King formerly so well, he had now set his heart upon a Kingdom. M. Brutus reports, that about the same time that there was one Octavius about the Court (whose

(whose folly and weakness gave him the liberty of his tongue) who having faluted Pompey in a great Assembly by the name of King, he addrest himself to Cafar with the title of Queen. Cains Memmins goes farther and charges him to have waited upon Nicomedes amongst his old Catamites, and filled Wine at the Table, in the presence of several Roman Merchants, which he names. But Cicero not content with this, affirms in some of his Epistles, that he was conducted into the Kings Chamber by his Pensioners, That having put on a Purple Robe, he lay down upon a gilt Bed; and so the flower of his age who was descended from Venus (as he had boasted) was contaminated in Bithynia. Besides these Casar being earnest in the desence of Nisa (the Daughter of Nicomedes) before the Senate, and amongst the rest of his arguments, enumerating his favours to him, Let that pass I beseech you, (fays Cicero) we know very well how things have Itood betwixt you. In his Gallick Triumph, the Souldiers which followed his Chariot, amongst other Songs and Lampons (which were used merrily to be fung) did frequently repeat these,

Gallias Cæsar subegit, Nicomedes Cæsarem.

Ecce Cæsar nunc triumphat, qui subegit Gallias:

Nicomedes non triumphat, qui subegit Cæsarem.

Cefar subdued the Gauls, Bubynia's King Subdu'd great Cefar, why then here's the thing, Must not be triumph too, that o'recame him?

50. The general report is, he was much given to Women, and being very liberal and profuse, he debaucht several Ladies of Quality, amongst the

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rest Posthumia the wife of Servius Sulpitius, Lollia the wife of Aulus Gabinius, Tertulla of M. Crassus, and Mutia the wife of Pompey; for not only the Curio's both Father and Son, but many others upbraided Pompey, That out of an extravagant ambition of greatness, he had married the daughter of him, for whose sake he had put away his own wife after he had had three children by her, and was wont in his passion to call him Agisthus, or Adulterer. But above all, his greatest affection was for Servitia the Mother of Brutus, to whom in his last Confulship he presented a Pearl which cost him 60000 Sesterces, besides other considerable Gifts during the Civil Wars, and feveral Lands and Farms publickly exposed, he suffered her to purchase at a very small rate; which most people admiring, Cicero very pleafantly fatisfied in these words. That you may know (faith he) (he bas the better bargain, TERTIA DEDUCTA FST, alluding to her Daughter Terria, which it was supposed Servilia had prostituted to Cefar. Nor did he abstain from the Ladies in the Provinces where he Commanded, if we may be lieve the Song the Souldiers fung at his Gallick Triumph.

Urbani servate Uxores, mæchum calvum adducimus, Aurum in Gallia effutuisti, hic sumpsisti mutuum.

Callias Calar Subreit N co

Friendlook tyour wife, our bald pate fornicator
Do's both your businesses, if he gets at her?
Thought squandred all in France, und now coniest home,
At thy old Rate, to borrow more in Rome.

of Euroe the wife of Bogudis King of Mauritaina, to whom,

whom, (as Naso fays) and to her husband, he made many great Prefents; But his chiefest passion was for Cleopatra, with whom he would many times spin out his Entertainments till next morning, he past, in the fame Barge, or pleafure Boat with her into Egypt, almost as far as Ethiopia, and had doubtless gone thorow, had not his Army mutiny'd, and refus'd to follow; He invited her afterwards to Rome, and fent her back with many honours, and rewards. He permitted her likewise to call a Son of hers by his name, which some of the Greek Authors affirmed to refemble Cafar both in feature and Mine. M. Antonius afferted in the Senate, that he owned him, and that C. Matius, and C. Oppius, and feveral other of Cafars intimates knew it very well. But C. Oppins (looking upon it as a scandal, and thing wor thy of an Apology) put forth a Book, proving, It was not the Son of Cæfar, which Cleopatra would have father'd upon him. Helvius Cinna, a Tribune of the People, confest to several of his friends, that he had a Law by him, ready prepared and ingrost, which Cafar commanded him to publish in his absence, and it was to this purpose, That he might have as many, and what wives he pleased, to propagate upon: And that no man may doubt of his Sodomy, Curio the Elder in one of his Orations stiles him, A Man for all Women, and a Woman for all Men.

52. That he was temperate in drinking, his

very enemies have not deny'd: Cato's faying was, That he was the only fober man ever went about to subvert the Government of the State. In his diet also he was so indifferent, that Oppius tells us, being at an Entertainment amongst other company, where ill Oyl was brought up, instead of good, the rest refusing to touch it, he eatvery heartily, lest otherwise

he should feem to have upbraided his Host, either of

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Poverty, or Neglect.

43. He abstained from no way ofgetting Money, either in his Civil or Military Commands: Some have left it upon Record, that in Spain he exacted great fums both of the Pro-Conful, and Allies, towards the payment of his Debts. Certain Towns in Portugal which embrac'd his Commands, and opened their Gates to receive him, he plundered, and fack'd. In France he took great store of Jewels and riches out of their Temples, which had been dedicated to their Gods. He demolished feveral Towns more for their wealth than delinquency, by which means he had got fuch plenty of Gold, that he fold it in Italy, and the Provinces by the pound, for 3000 Sefterces, and no more. In his first Confulfhip he made bold with 3000 weight of Gold out of the Capitol, and believed afterwards he bad made it good when he gave as much gilt brafs in the place. The Honourable Titles of Kings, or Allies, he fold many times for money: Ftolomey alone paid him 6000 Talents for himself and Pompey: After which he maintained the rest of his Civil Wars, Triumphs, and Spectacles, by most evident Rapine and Sacriledge.

J4. In Eloquence and Martial Conduct, he equalled, if not excelled the best of his Predecessours. After the impeachment of Dolabella he was ever reckoned amongst the principal Advocates of the City. Cicero in his Catalogue of Orators directed to Brutus, affirms, He knew not to what person Cæsar ought to subscribe: and in his Epistle to Cornelius Nepos, That his Stile was Elegant, Brisk, Majestick, and like a Gentleman; and in another place; Which is it (says he) among all your Orators brought up to nothing thing else, that you can prefer before Cæsar? Who is there more pungent, and frequent in his sentences, or more neat and elegant in his words?

55. Whilst he was young, he feemed to affect the stile of Strabo Cafar so much, that in his Oration, call'd Divinatio, he transferr'd fome of his fentences word for word out of his Oration Pro Sardis. He gave great life to his Harangues, by the clearness of his voice, and the comeliness of his gesture; some Orations he left behind him, to which others are inconfiderably added, as that pro C. Metello, which Augustus with good reason believes to be put forth rather by fome Clerk, or Short-hand writer (who was not able to keep pace with his words as he fpoke them) than by himfelf, for in some Copies I find that it is not inscrib'd, pro Metello, but quam scripsit Metello, being indeed a speech which Casar made to vindicate himself and Metellus from certain fcandals and afperfions laid upon them by their common Enemies. Nor has Augustus any better opinion of his Orations ad milites in Spain, the first made before his first battel, and the other before his last, and Asimins Pollio confirms it when he says that the incursion of the Enemy was so sudden, he had no time for any fuch thing.

\$6. He left also Memoires or Commentaries of his own actions in his Wars with the Gauls and Pom-The rest as of Alexandria, Africk, and Spain, are supposed to be spurious, some people imputing them to Oppius, others to Hirtius, who finish'd the last book of his Gallick Wars, which Cafar left im. perfect. Of these Commentaries of Cafar, Cicero in the same Epistle to Brutus gives this Character, His Commentaries (saith he) are exceedingly to be approved, they are plain, neat, and beautiful, without any Rhetorical ornament or disquise : his design was only to prepare matter for such as would write his History, and happily he may have done a pleasure to some light impertinent people who think they can beautifie it perhaps with their miserable Art, but all sober men he has discourag'd from medling. Of the same Book Hirtius gives this Testimony; His Commentaries are so univerfally admired, he has rather deterred, than invited others to write; But my wonder is by so much greater than the rest, by how much they only know the Excellency and Generosity, but I the Expedition and Easiness of his Pen. Pollio Asinius is of Opinion, they were not carefully done, nor matters of fact fo truly represented as they should have been; that Casar took up many things done by other persons, lightly, and upon trust, and that touching his own Exploits, either for want of Memory, or on purpose he set them down wrong. He left also two books de Analogia, two Anticatones, and a Poem called Iter. The former two he composed in his passage over the Alps, as he was returning out of Gallia Cifalpina to his Army; the other two about the time of the battel at Munda, and the last in his four and twenty dayes journey betwixt Rome and the furthest part of Spain. There are also Extant some Epistles of his to the Senate, which were the first joyned together by leaves, and made into the falhion of a Book, for before the Confuls and Generals writ cross the Paper, and no otherwise: he has some also to Cicero, and to his friends about his private affairs, in which when he had any thing of fecret, he imparted it by a certain transposition of Letters fo dispos'd, as they seemed nothing to other people, and yet by commuting the fourth Letter for the first, (as D. for A.) &c, his meaning was eafily

easily discovered. It is reported also, he writ some things when he was a Boy, as the Phrases of Hercules, the Tragedy of Oedipus, and a Collection of Apothegmes; But Augustus in a short Epistle to Pompeius Macrus, who had the charge of his Library, com-

mands him to stop their Publication.

Horse, he was excellently expert, most indefatigable in labour: he march'd constantly at the head of his Army; sometimes on Horse-back, sometimes on foot, but always (in spight either of heat or rain) with his Head bare: His diligence was so incredibly great in most of his Expeditions, that he would go fifty Leagues a day in a Hackney Chariot, swimming over the Rivers, if there were any in his way, or else passing by the help of blown bladders, so as many times he out-run all intelligence of him.

58. In his Martial undertakings, it is doubtful whether he used more Caution or Courage: he never march'd his Army by any dangerous wayes, till he had thorowly discover'd them. Before his Expedition into England, he himself survey'd the Ports and accesses into that Island. Having intelligence that his Camp was beleaguer'd in Germany, he pass'd their Guards in the disguise of a French-man, and came fafe to their relief. He pais'd from Brundusium to Dyrrachium, thorow two of the Enemies Fleets in the midd'st of winter, and seeing his Troops which he had commanded to follow him, neglected his orders, though he had fent feveral to haften them, he muffled himself in his Robe, put himself alone into a Skiff, neither discovering who he was to the Pilot, nor permitting him to yield to the impetuolity of the weather till he was near buried in the waves. 59. No D 4

retard him in his Enterprises. Before his Expedition against Juba, the Villim ran away as it was about to be facrificed, which was esteemed a dangerous Omen, yet it was not able to discourage him from his designs. As he was getting out of the Ship, he self upon the ground, but perverting the presage, he cryed out, I take possession of thee O Africk. To elude the predictions whereby the name of Scipio was esteemed fatally happy and invincible in that Province, he carried along with him in his Camp an idle inconsiderable sellow of that name of the Cornelian Race, who in reproach of his life was called Salvito.

60. He fought not only by defign, but upon occasion, as he thought he had advantage; many times immediately after March, fometimes in stormy weather, when he was least expected: He was alwayes forward to engage, till in his latter dayes: for making reflexion upon the number of his Victories, he thought it indifcretion to hazard fo often; and that one Victory more, would not add half fo much to his Honour, as one defeat would fubstract: he never routed an Enemy, but he beat him out of his Camp by the hotness of his pursuit, leaving them When he observed the islue of ano time to rally. ny battel to be doubtful, he dismounted his Cavalry, and fent their Horses away, and his own first, that by taking away the possibility of escaping, he might put them upon a necessity of fighting it to the laft.

61. Herid upon a most remarkable horse, with feet almost like a Mans, and hooss cloven into Toes: he bred him up from a Colt, and that with no little care, the South-sayers having presaged his Master should

should have the Empire of the whole World: He would fuffer no body upon him, but Cafar who back'd him himself, and afterwards dedicated his Statue before the Temple of Venus Genitrix.

62. Several times he restored the Battel when it was almost in disorder by opposing himself against them that fled, taking them by the Throats, and forcing their faces towards the Enemy. Once they were in fuch diforder, Cafar endeavouring to have flaid one of his Standard-bearers, he was threatned with the point of it which is fluck into the ground, and another ran away and left his Colours in his hand.

63. Nor were these the greatest instances of his courage; after the battel of Pharsalia, having fent his forces before into Asia, he followed in a Bark himself through the streights of the Helespont, where meeting L. Cassius of the Enemies party, with ten Men of War, he was so far from declining him, that he made up to him, commanded him to yield, and

upon his submission, receiv'd him aboard.

64. At the fiege of Alexandria, as he was attempting the Bridge, the Enemy made a desperate fally, and forc'd him into a Boat, into which others precipitating as well as he, he leapt into the Sea, and fwam two hundred paces to the next Ship, though he carried his left-hand above water, to preferve fome Papers he had in it, and trailed his Paludamentum or Generals Robe after him in his teeth, lest it should fall into their hands.

65. He confidered his Souldiers neither by their Qualities, nor Wealth, but by their courage and Strength; he us'd them all alike with the fame feverity and indulgence; his Discipline was strictest when the Armies were near, then was he fo fevere

an Exactor of Duty, that without acquainting them, either with their March or the time they were to fight, he kept them close to their Arms, that they might be ready every moment to be drawn out as he pleased; sometimes he would give them false Alarms, especially in ill weather, and upon Festival days: and having commanded every one to have an Eye over him, he would steal suddenly from them, sometimes by day, and sometimes by night, making longer Marches than he intended, to

tire them which lagg'd.

had at any time discouraged his Men, he confirmed them; not by denying or lessening, but by encreasing their number above what was true: In this manner when the Alarm of Juba's approach was become terrible to his Souldiers, he called them together, and made this Speech: Know (Jays he) in a few days the King will be here with ten Legions, thirty thousand men at Arms, a hundred thousand horse, and three hundred Elephants; Therefore let every one forbear to inquire or concern himself farther, for I am sufficiently inform'd; otherwise I will put the offenders into the oldest Ship I can get, and expose them to the mercy of the winds and the floods.

67. He neither took notice of all faults, nor punish'd them alike: Those that were seditious or deserted their colours, he strictly inquired after and punish'd always severely; after a Battle, and Victory, sometimes he would abate of his Discipline, and bear with them in all their Riot and Luxury: Boasting often, That his Souldiers could fight in their very perfumes: He call'd them not Souldiers in his Speeches: but by a more obliging Compellation, Commissioners, or Fellow-Souldiers: he kept them al-

wayes

ways neat and brave, he fet them out in Arms shining with Gold and Silver, and that not so much for Ostentation and show, as that the apprehension of losing them might give them more courage to defend them; he loved them so well, that hearing of Titurius his defeat, and the destruction of his Army, he let his hair and beard grow in indignation, refusing to cut them till he was thorow-

ly revenged.

68. When he first undertook his Civil wars, there was not a Captain in any of his Legions, but proffered to find him a horse out of his own pay: & generally all the Souldiers tendred him their fervice freely without amunition, bread, or pay, and the rather because the wealthier of their Comerades had undertaken for the support of the poorer: and which is most admirable, during the whole feries of the Wars, there was none of them for fook him: and most of those which were taken by the Enemy, and offered their lives if they would take up arms against him, chose rather to die. They indured hunger and other extremities of War with that constancy and patience, (not only when they were beleaguer'd themselves, but when they block'd up their Enemy) That at the Siege of Dyrrachium, when Pompey was shown a fort of Bread made of Herbs, upon which they subsisted; He cryed out cum feris sibi rem effe, That he had to do with Beafts, Commanding it to be taken away and concealed, lest the Patience, and Pertinacity of the Enemy, should be any discouragement to his Men. With what valour and Magnanimity they fought, is evident in their ill fuccessat Dyrrachium where having been repuls'd, they came and offered themselves to be punish'd, in so much that Cafars trouble was more to comfort, than correct them. In all his other ingagements, they easily overcame much greater armies than themselves; in short one Company of his fixth Legion being ordered for the defence of a fmall Castle; they maintained it several hours, against four of Pompey Legions, till they were all wounded with their arrows, of which 36000 were found afterwards in their Trenches: Nor is this strange if we consider the actions of particular Men. Cassius Scava their Captain in defending the Gate of the faid Fort, not only lost an Eye, was wounded in the shouldier and thigh, but had his Buckler shot thorow in an hundred and twenty places; and yet left not his Post. Acilius in a Sea-fight not far from Massilia, having his right hand cut off wherewith he had laid hold of one of the Enemies Ships; (according to the memorable example of Cynagius among the Greeks) he leapt into the Ship, thrusting his Shield into their faces who stood in his way.

69. During his ten years Wars in Gaul, his Army never mutined; in his Civil Wars, but feldom; and then they returned prefently to their Duty, not so much by the indulgence, as authority of their General. He never flattered or complyed with them at all, but always oppos'd himself. His ninth Legion mutining at Placentia, he cashier'd it with great ignominy (though Pompey was then in Arms) and hardly restored them after frequent and earnest supplication, till he had made some of them Exem-

plary.

70. His tenth Legion demanding their reward and dismission with great eagerness, and danger, to the City; He went immediately to them himself, and discharged them, contrary to the advice of his Friends, the War in Africk being hot at that time.

time. But calling them Citizens, and not Soldiers, as he was wont; they were so nettled with it, they cryed out they were Souldiers and no Citizens, and followed him into Africk whether he would or no: Nor could that reconcile them till he had taken away a third part of the pillage, and Lands, (which were fet out for them) from the most eminently seditious.

71. His kindness and constancy to his Clients appeared from his very youth. When he had defended the cause of Masimtha (a young Gentleman) against Hiempfal the King, with fuch zeal, that in the heat of the argument he took Juba the Kings Son by the beard, Masintha being declared a Stipendarie, he forc'd him out of the hands of the Officers, conceal'd him in his own house, and a while after when his Prætorship was expir'd, and he went into Spain, he took him along with him in his own Litter, amongst the best of his Officers and Friends.

72. He carried himself alwaies with so much Courtesie and Respect towards his Friends, that C. Oppius, accompanying him in his March thorow a large Forrest, and being suddenly taken ill, he gave him his Lodging, and lay himself upon the Ground. After he had made himself Emperour, he advanc'd persons of the meanest condition to the highest honours; and being blamed for it by his friends, he replyed; If they were Thieves, and Murtherers, and had stuck to me in the defence of my Honour, I would do the Same.

73. He never had fo great an animofity against any man, but he could lay it aside upon the least occasion given. C. Memmius had publish'd bitter invectives against him, to which he answered as smartly; yet he gave him his affiftance in his petition for the Confulship. C. Calvus having blasted him with

with his defamatory Epigrams, desiring afterwards to be reconciled, Casar was so generous as to write to him sirst. The same Clemency he used towards Valerius Catullus, who having branded his reputation with eternal infamy, (as he said himself) nevertheless the same day he did but say he was sorry, he took him with him to Supper, and lay afterwards in his Fathers house as he had formerly done.

74. He was not naturally vindicative. He reveng'd himfelf upon the Pirats which had taken him Prisoner, because he had sworn to crucifie them if they came under his Power, yet he did it with fuch moderation, that he commanded them first to be ftrangled before they were fastned to the Cross. He would never fuffer any mischief to be done to Cornelius Phagita, though he had much ado to efcape the Traps he laid for him in the night, and (as fick as he was) from being carried to Sylla by his means. Philemon afervant or Secretary of his, having engaged to the Enemics to poison him, was put only to an ordinary death, and not permitted to be tortured. Being cited as a witness against Publius Clodius, accused of Adultery with his Wife Pompea, and for the fame causes of polluting the holy Ceremonies, he denied that he knew any thing of it, though his Mother Anrelia, and his Sifter Julia had fworn it; Being ask'd by the Judges, why then he had turned her away Because (faid he) I would have my family as free from Suspicion as Guilt.

75. His Clemency and Moderation was admireable, not only in his administration and management of his Civil Wars, but in his Victories and Triumphs. Pompey by Proclamation declared them Enemies Enemies of the State, who but suspended their affiftance at that time: he declared he would look upon all Neuters as Friends. Those who by Pompey's recommendations he had preferr'd to any Commands, he permitted to pass to his party. There being propositions made, and a Treaty actually on foot at Ilerda in Spain, during which Treaty the Souldiers trading and converfing promiscuously both one side and the other, Afranius and Petreins took their advantage, and put all Cafars Souldiers to death, upon the dissolution of the Treaty; yet could not Cefar be provok'd to imitate their perfidy, but fent them all home which were in his Camp. At the Battle of Pharfalia he made proclamation, That all Citizens should be spared, and afterwards gave every one of his Souldiers liberty to save one of the adverse party, if they pleased, so that there was none killed but in the heat of the fight; Except Afranius, Faustus; and L. Cafar the younger, and it is thought they were slain against his will; Though the two first had revolted after pardon once obtain'd, and L. Cafar, not contented to have killed and perfecuted his fervants with fire and fword, most malitiously slew the very Beast's he had prepared for his publick shows. To con-clude, in his latter days, those whom as yet he had not pardon'd, he suffer'd to return into Italy, to Govern as Magistrates in the City, and as Officers in the Field. He re-erected the Statues of Sylla and Pompey, which the people had pull'd down: And at any time if any thing extraordinary was fpoken or contrived against him, he chose rather to prevent, than punish, to amonish than correct them; And accordingly having information of feveral Confpiracies, and meetings in the night; he troubled them 3753

them no further than by Edict, to let them know they were discovered; To such as spoke ill of him, he thought it sufficient to admonish them before the people, that for the suture they should desist. Aulus Cicinna having severely asperst him with his Libells, and Pitholaus with his Satyrs, he took

all patiently without any revenge.

76. However, the rest of his words, and actions do preponderate, and make him appear not only to have abused his authority, but to have been worthy of death. For besides the extravagant Honors which he assumed, as the perpetual Dictatorship, the continual Confulship, the Censorship, the title of Emperour, and Father of his Country, a Statue amongst the Kings, a Chair, or Box upon the Stage, a Chair of Gold in the Senate, and another in the Courts of Justice; He Usurp'd greater Dignities than confifted with humane condition, as to have his Effigies carried folemnly in the Pageantry of the Cercensian Games. He had his Temples, Altars, Images, by the Gods, his Confectated Beds, his Priests, his Luperci, and the denomination of one Month in the Year. In short, there were no Honours whatever, but he took, or gave as he pleased. He did not execute his third nor his fourth Consulship, for retaining only the Title, he contented himself with the authority of his Dictatorship, decreed to him with his Confular's at the same time; in the three last months of each year, he substituted two Consuls, so as within that time there was no affembly for Elections, but for Tribunes and Adiles Plebis. He created Provosts instead of Prætors, for the administration of the affairs of the City in his presence. The last day of Devember one of the Confuls dying suddenly, he gave gave the vacancy to a person which desired and injoy'd it but a few hours, that Office of course expiring the next day. With the same liberty, contrary to all Custome he ordained Magistrates for several years. He gave ten Prætors power to wear the Consulary Ornaments. He receiv'd private Citizens into the Senate, and some of the half Barbarous Gauls. He appointed his own Servants and Officers to supervise his Mint, and Revenue. He Committed the three Legions he lest in Alexandria, to the Command of the Son of Rusinus, his Freeman, and Catamite of old.

77. Nor did his publick expressions speak him less insolent: T. Ampius reports, he said, That the Common wealth was now but a word, without either body or Soul. That Sylla was no good Grammarian that could part with his Distatorship so easily; That hereafter he was to be spoke to with more Reverence, and every word that he spoke was to be lookt upon as a Law. Nay to that height of arrogance was he arrived, that a Priest having sound no heart in a Beast, which was to be Sacrificed, and bringing him word of the badness of the Omen; Trouble not your self (says he) they shall be better when I please, nor is it to be thought a prodigie, if a beast wants a heart.

78. But the greatest and most inextinguishable hatred he drew upon himself, was from hence: when the Senators came to him in a Body with most honourable decrees, he received them sitting before the Temple of Venus Genitrix. Some say, he would have risen but Cornelius Balbus held him down; others say, he was so far from offering it at all, that C. Trebatius intimating it was expected, received a severe frown for his pains. And that which made this action of his more remarkable, was, That in one of

his Triumphs, passing by the Seats of the Tribunes, and observing all the Company rose up and saluted him but Pontius Aquilla, he could not contain, but in great indignation cryed out, Well done Tribune Aquilla, you had best try if you can wrest the Government of the Common-wealth out of my hands, with your Tribuneship; and by way of mockery and contempt, he promised nothing to any one for several daies after, but with this exception; If Pontius Aquilla

confents.

79. To this contumely and flight of the Senate, he added a greater piece of arrogance; for returning from the Sacrifice of the Latine Festivals. amongst the fresh and immoderate acclamations of the people, one of them had put a Crown of Lawrel (tyed about with a white band) upon the head of his Statue; which being observed, Epidius Marul lus, and Casetius Flavus, Tribunes of the Commons, Commanded the band to be taken off, and the fellow to be laid by the heels; This he took fo hainoufly, (whether the Omen of his Coronation fucceeded no better, or that (ashe pretended) they had taken from him the Honor of doing it himself) that he sharply rebuk'd them, and turned them out of their Commands. Nor could he clear himself from the fuspicion of affecting the Name of a King, though the People faluting him with that Title, he replied Cesarem se, non Regem esse, He was Casar indeed, but no King, and in the Lupercalia when the Conful Antonius offered several times to put the Crown upon his head, he refused it, and fent it to Jupiter into the Capitol. There was a strong report likewise, as if he meant to fetire to Alexandria, or Troy, to drain Italy of the choice of its Soldiers, and (having left the Government of the City to his friends) to carry the wealth wealth of the whole Empire along with him. There was a Rumour also in the next meeting of the Senate, that Lacius Cotta, one of the Quindecim-viri, was to declare his opinion that Casar should be called King, because he had found in the Books of the Sibylls, that the Parthians were not to be conquered

but by a King.

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80. This was a great occasion of hastning the Execution of their Conspiracies, otherwise the Conspirators would have been forc'd to consent: Their Councils therefore which before were managed, by the meeting of two or three at a place, were united now, and carried on by a common convention of all together; the people growing fenfible of their condition, upbraiding the Government, and wishing for some Body or other to as ferttheir Liberties, and rescue them from the slavery they were under, by reason that strangers were admitted into the Senate; there was a Pafquin fet up with this Preface, Bonum Fattum, &C. Let no Man show the Senate House to our New Senators, &c. and these Verses sang publickly about the Streets.

Gallos Casar in triumphum ducit, iidem in Curia Galli bracas deposuerunt, latum clavum sumserunt.

The Gauls in triumph led from Cæsars Wars, Shifting their Pantaloons, turn Senators.

Casar having substituted Q. Maximus Consul for three Months, as he entred the Theatre, the people were admonished by the Officers (of the Court) to pay him their respects, but they cryed out universally, He was no Consul. After Casetim, and Marullus

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rullus were removed (as aforefaid) from the Tribuneship, they had many voices (at the next E lections) to make them Confuls. Some there were who writ these words under the Statue of Brutus, Utinam viveres, would to God thou wert alive again; others under Cesars, Brutus was created the first Conful for expelling the Kings, and this man the last of Kings, for Suppressing the Consuls. The Conspiracy was mannaged by above fixty persons. The chief of them were C. Cassius, Marcus, and Decimus Brutus, they were a long time in deliberation about the place of Execution, some were for throwing him over the Bridge, as he call'd over the Tribes at the Election in the Campus Martius, and (having divided themselves before) to kill him when he was down. Others were for Murdering him in the Via Sacra, and others at his entrance into the Theatre. But after the Senate had Orders to meet in Pompeys Court upon the Ides of March, they preferr'd that time and place before all the reft.

81. Cafar had warning of his death by manifest prefages: fome few Months before, those of the Colonie, which were fent to Capua according to the Law Julia, as they were pulling down the old Scpulchers to build them up houses, (and that with the more industry and diligence, because they found feveral Vessels and antiquities amongst the Rubbish) In the Monument of Capys the founder of Capua, they found a brass Table with this inscription in Greek, When the bones of Capys shall be discovered, it shall come to pass, that a person descended from Iulus, shall be murdered by his Kindred, and his death revenged a while after by the ruine of all Italy; and (that this report might not be thought fabu-1×1.33

fabulous) know that Cornelius Balbus, an inti-mate friend of Cafars is the Author of it. Not many dayes likewise before this disaster, the Horses (which he had consecrated, (according to custome) at his passage over the Rubicon, and were let loofe in the wide fields without any keeper, (he had certain intelligence) forbare their meat, by common confent (as it were) and wept abundantly. As he was at Sacrifice, the Augur Spurinna admonish'd him to beware of a danger hanging over his head, which would fcarce be deferr'd beyond the Ides of March. The very day before the Ides, a little Bird call'd the Regaliolus flying into Pompey's Court with a branch of Lawrel in, her Beak, was purfued by feveral Birds out of the next Grove, and pull'd in pieces there. That night he dreamt also that he was flying above the Clouds, and fometimes shaking Jupiter by the hand. Calphurnia his Wife dreamt likewise, that the top of the house was fallen down, that her Husband was stabb'd in her arms, and immediately the doors new open of themselves: Upon these considerations, and an indisposition which was then upon him besides, he had thoughts of staying at home, and deferring the affairs he had propos'd to the Senate: But D. Brutus perswading not to disappoint the Senate which was now full, and had attended him a long time, he went to them about eleven a Clock. By the way he was prefented (by a person he met) with a Paper discovering the whole Plot, but he put it amongst other Papers in his left hand, as if he would read it anon. In short, having made many Sacrifices to the Gods, and succeeding in none; in defiance of all Religion

Religion he entred the Senate, laughing at Spurinna as a false Prophet, seeing the Ides of March were come without any disaster: to which he re-

ply'd, They are come indeed, but not past.

82. As foon as he was fet, the Conspirators plac'd themselves about him, pretending to do him honour, and immediately Cimber Tullius, who had undertaken the first part, address'd himself to him, as if he had fomething to demand; but Cafar refufing him, and making figns to him to put it off to some other time; Cimber catch'd hold of his Gown on both shoulders, and Cafar crying out that this was violence, one of the Cassii came in and stabb'd him under the throat; then Cafar laying hold of Cassius his arm, struck it thorow with his Stile, and endeavouring to get up, was stopt with another wound: but feeing several swords presented to his breast, he cover'd his head with his Gown, and with his left hand spread it over his thighs, that by covering those parts, he might fall with the more modesty. In this manner he receiv'd 23 wounds, and died without speaking a word, or fetching so much as a figh; but at the first stroke though some have reported, that when M. Brutus affaulted him, he cryed out, And art thou, art thou amongst them my Son? Being dead, and all the Conspirators fled, he lay there for a while, till at lengththree of his fervants put him into a Litter, and carried him home with one hand dangling out. Antistius his Physitian was of opinion, amongst all his wounds the fecond only (upon his breaft) was mortal. The Conspirators were resolv'd to have drawn his body into the Tiver, to have confiscated his Estate, and rescinded his Acts, but they were afraid of M. Antonius the Conful, with Lepidus

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pidus the General of the Horse, and durst not proceed.

83. At the request therefore of L. Pifo (his Father in Law) his Will was opened and read in the house of Antonius: it was made at his Country house at Lavicum upon the Ides of September, and given in keeping to the chief of the vestal Virgins. Q. Tubero writes, that from his first Consulship, to the beginning of his Civil Wars, he had named Pompey his heir, and that his Will was many times read to his Souldiers; but in his last he made three of his Grand-Nephewes (being his Sifters Grand-Sons) his Heirs, viz. to C. Octavius, he gave three fourths, to L. Pinarius, and Qu. Pedius, the fourth part remaining. In the bottom of his Will, he adopted Octavius both into his Family and Name. He had nominated feveral of his Murderers as Guardians to his Son, if he should be so happy as to have any: He left also D. Brutus amongst his fecond Heirs, (that is, upon default of the first) and gave his Gardens upon the Tiber to the people in common, and 300 Sesterces a Man.

84. His Funeral being proclaimed, his funeral Pile was erected in the field of Mars, near the Monument of Julia, and a Gilt Chappel after the Model of the Temple of Venus Genetrix, fet up before the Rostra: within this Chappel was placed a bed of Ivory cover'd over with Purple, imbroider'd with Gold, and at the head of it a Trophy supporting the Robe in which he was killed; and that the multitude of those which carried offerings might be no impediment to the solemnity, (the day not being long enough for all) it was commanded, that they should carry them into the field of Mars without any order, thorough what Steets of the City

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they pleas'd. Amongst their Games and Playes, there were several Verses exhibited to move the people to pity, and indignation; such as those taken out of the Tragedy of Pacuvius, intituled, The Judgment of Arms.

Men' Men' servasse, ut essent qui me perde-

Unhappy I who let these men go free, That there might those be left, durst murder me.

And others to the like purpose out of Accius his Electra. Instead of a Funeral Oration, Antonius the Conful publish'd an Act of the Senate by the publick Cryer, (by which they decreed him all honour, both humane and divine) as also he caus'd the Oath to be read, by which they had oblig'd themselves in the defence of a single Person, to which he added some few words of his own. The Magistrates and persons which had been of Authority in the City, removed the Bed of State from before the Rostrum, into the Forum, and whilst they were divided in their resolutions where it should be burnt, whether in the Cell of Jupiter Capitolinus, or in the Court of Pompey (where he was flain) on a fudden two men with Swords by their sides, and two Javelins in their hands, fet it on fire with Torches, and immediately the multitude threw in their dry Wood, the Benches and Seats of the Tribunal, and what ever they had brought as an offering: then the Minstrils and Stage-Players pulling off the Garments which they had receiv'd out of the provision for the Triumph, they tore them in pieces, and threw them into the Flames. The old Legionaries

did the fame with their Arms, which they wore on purpose that day in honour to the Funeral. The Ladies threw in (many of them) their Jewels, and Ornaments, and the very Purple embroidered Robes of their Children. In this general Mourning, there were several from foreign Nations, which were present, and contributed their lamentation according to the modes of the several Countreys, but especially the Jews, who spent whole nights in their Ceremonies at the place where he was burnt.

85. No fooner were the Ceremonies of the Funeral over, but the people with Fire-brands in their hands, ran in great multitudes to fet the houses of Brutus and Cassius on fire: being with some difficulty repell'd, they met with Helvius Cinna by accident as they came back, and mistaking him for Cornelius Cinna (who had made a bitter speech against Casar the day before) they slew him, cut off his head, and fixing it upon a Spear, carried it about with them up and down the City; after this, they fet up a folid Pillar of Numidian Marble, near twenty foot high, with this infcription, Parenti Patria, To the Father of his Country; At which place for a long time afterwards they did use to sacrifice, to make Vows, and to decide their Controversies by swearing by the name of Cafar.

86. Some of his friends were of opinion, that in respect of his sickness and indispositions, he had no desire to live any longer, and for that reason he neglected the Prodigies, and the advertisements of his friends: some imagined he relied so much upon their Oath, and the last Act of the Senate, that in considence of that he sent back his Spanish

Guards

Guards, which alwayes attended him with their Swords by their sides: Others report, he had often declar'd, that he had rather die once, than live in perpetual sear: Others assirm, he was wont to say, that his safety was more for the interest of the Common-wealth, than for his own; that he had acquir'd Honour and Power enough already; but that if any mischief happen'd to him, the Republick would fall into new troubles, the effects whereof would be more calamitous than ever they had been under him.

87. In short all agree in this, that he died according to his own desire; for having read in Xenophon upon a time, how Cyrus being under the extremity of his disease, and at the point of death, gave some directions for his Funeral, abhorring so tedious a death, he wish'd when he died, it might be of a sudden; and the day before he died, being at Supper in M. Lepidus his house, upon a question occasionally offered, Which was the best death? he declared, in his judgement, a sudden, and unex-

pected.

88. He died in the 56 year of his age, and was Canonized amongst the Gods, not only by the mouth of them which pronounc'd the Decree, but by the perswasion of the people; For at the first Games Augustus exhibited to the people, and dedicated to him, as being his Heir, there appear'd a Star which shin'd afterwards seven dayes together, arose about the eleventh hour, and by them was considently believed to be Casar's Soul, for which cause there was a Star set afterwards upon the Crown of his Statue. Order was given also, that Court should be stop'd up where he was killed: that the Ides of March should be call'd Parricidium, and

and that the Senate should never sit more upon that

day.

89. Of his Murderers there was scarce any outlived him three years, or died a natural death: All of them stood condemned, and fell by several accidents, some wreck'd at Sea, others kill'd in fight, and some slew themselves with the same dagger with which they had murder'd Casar.

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## **OCTAVIUS** AUGUSTUS



Caius Suetonius Tranquillus,
OFTHE
TWELVE CÆSARS.

## SECOND BOOK

Being the

## LIFE

OF

## D. Octavius Casar Augustus,

THE SECOND

Emperour of ROME.

of principal rank in Velitra, we have many Arguments to perswade us; for besides that there is a Street in the most considerable part of the Town, call'd Octavian to this day, and an Altar consecrated to one Octavius, their General against the Borderers, who

who as he was facrificing to Mars, having intelligence that the Enemy had made a sudden Inroad into his Territories, snatch'd up the Intrailes from the Altar halfraw as they were, and offer'd them: after which he march'd out immediately, fought, and defeated them; upon that Victory a Decree was made, (which is still extant upon record) That for the suture the Intrails should be offer'd to Mars in that manner, and no other; and the reliques, or remainder of the Victime, be

carried back to the Octavii.

2. This family was admitted (amongst the Roman Families) into the Senate by Tarquinius Priscus, amongst the Patricians by Servius Tullius, and in process of time ranking it self amongst the people, after a long interval, it was readvanc'd amongst the Patricii by Julius Cafar. C. Rufus was the first of this Race, who was elected to the Magistracy by the fuffrage of the people. Having past his Quæstorship, he had two Sons, Cneius, and Caius, from whom sprang the two branches of the Octavii, of different quality, and condition, for Cheius and all his Progeny, were imploy'd in the greatest and most honourable charges. But Cains, and his, (either through the Malignity of their Fortunes, or the humility of their minds) continued in the rank only of Gentlemen, till the time of Augustus his Father. In the fecond Punick war, Augustus his great Grand-father was a Military Tribune in Sicily, under Emilius Pappus, who commanded the Army. Grand-father contenting himself with the plenty of his own Patrimony, and the Civil authorities of the City, lived in great ease and tranquillity till he was an old Man, and this is that which others report; Augustus himself says onely this, that he was defcended

scended from an ancient family of the Equestrian Order, and that his Father was the first of it, which sate in the Senate. M. Anthony upbraideth him by his Great-Grand-Father, as if he were a Libertine by Birth, a Roper by Trade, sprang out of a little Village in the Countrey of the Thurines, and that his Grand-Father was a Cashier or Banker, and this is all I can meet with concerning the Pedegree of

Augustus, by the Fathers side.

3. His Father Octavius being a person of Estate, and esteem from the beginning of his age, I cannot but wonder he should be reproach'd by some people with the name of a Banker, or distributer of Money in the Campus Martins upon Election of Officers, for having been brought up from his Cradle in great affluence and plenty, he arrived eafily at great honours, and as worthily administred them. His Prætorship being expired, the Government of Macedon fell to his Lot; he reduc'd the remainder of Spartacus, and Catiline's Forces, (which were rallied and in Arms about Thurin) by the way, having an extraordinary Commission from the Senate to that purpose. He govern'd his Province with as much Valour as Justice, for after he had overthrown the Beffi and the Thracians in a great Battle, he comported himself so handsomly towards his Allies, that there are certain Epistles of M. Tullius Cicero still extant, in which he advises his Brother Quintus (who was Proconful of Asia at that time, and had mannaged it not without some scandal and infamy) that if he had a mind to oblige his Allies, he should need to do no more; than to imitate the example of his Neighbour Octavius.

4. Departing from Macedon, he died fuddenly, before he could stand for the Confulship, leaving behind

behind him Octavia the elder (which he had by Ancharia) Octavia the younger, and Augustus by Atia, which Atia was the Daughter of Atius Balbus by Julia the Sister of Ca. Cafar. Balbus was an Aricine by the Fathers side, and had had many Senators in his Family; and by the Mothers fide he was nearly related to Pompey the Great. After his Prætorship was past, he was one of the twenty deputed by Commission to divide the Lands in the Territory of Capua amongst the People according to the Law Julia; Yet M. Anthonie despises Augustus his descent by the Mothers side also, and reproaches him as if his great Grand-father on her fide was an African born, fometimes that he kept a Perfumers shop, and sometimes a Bakers in Aricia. Cassius Parmensis goes further, and in one of his Epistles asperses him with being the Grand-child of a Banker, as well as a Baker, in these terms; Thou art of a Dough by the Mothers side, which a Ca-Shier of Nerulon Stole out of an Arician Bake-house, moulding and kneading it into a Confiftence with his duxty fingers, discoloured with telling of Money.

Tullius Cicero and Anthony, the ninth of the Calends of October, a little before the rising of the Sun in the Palatine quarter, at a place called the Oxe-heads, where there is a Temple to be seen at this day, which was erected and dedicated to him a while after his death; and upon this occasion, as appears by the Journal and Registers of the Senate. C. Lectorius (a young man of a Patrician Family) being accused of Adultery, (to obviate, or mollishe the senate tence) besides his age, and extraction, pleaded that he was the Possessor and Guardian of that ground which Augustus sirst touch'd after he was born, and beg'd

beg'd that he might be forgiven for his fake, as he being his Domestick and peculiar Lar: whereupon it was immediately decreed that that part of the

house should be confecrated.

6. His Nurfery is to be feen to this day, in a little Country house belonging to his Ancestors near Veliwe, which is no bigger than a Cabine; and yet fome are of opinion it was the place of his birth alfo. To enter into it without great necessity and devotion, was look'd upon as prophane, the people being perswaded of old, that they which entred inconfiderately, were immediately furprifed with a certain trembling and horror, and this fancy was much confirmed by this story. A new Landlord, or Possessor of this Village, either with design to make experiment, or by chance taking up his lodging one night in that place, it happen'd after few hours repose, he was not only disturb'd with a sudden and violent noise, but himself and Bed taken up and carried out of doors, where he was found fpeechless and half dead the next morning.

7. Being but an infant he was called Thurinus, either in memory of the Origine of his Ancestors, or because his Father had about the time of his nativity fought a Battle against the Fugitives upon the Borders of the Thurines. But that Thurinus was his surname, I think I may affert, for I had a little Copper Medal in which he was represented in his infancy, and that name inscribed in old Iron Characters, almost worn out; which I gave to the Emperour, and he received it so kindly, he keeps it to this day in his Closet amongst his most venerable curiosities. M. Antonius in his Epistles, calls him often Thurinus by way of contumely and scorn, to which he made no other reply, but that He

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wondred his first Name should be objected to him as a reproach: After that he assumed the Sirname of Ca. Casar, and then of Augustus; one by the last Will and Testament of his great Uncle, the other by the Vote of Munatius Plancus; for whilst some gave their Voices he should be call'd Romulus, as if he also had been a second founder of the City, Plancus prevail'd to have him rather call'd Augustus, not only as a newer, but more honourable Title, because Religious and holy places, in which any thing is consecrated with the Ceremonies of the Augustus, are called Augusta, taking its Etymology either ab auctu, or else ab avium gestu gustuve, from growing, or from the gesture, or feeding of Birds; as Ennius intimates in these words;

Augusto augurio postquam inclyta condita Roma est.

8. When he was four years old his Father died, and at twelve he made a Funeral Oration for his Grand-Mother Julia before the people: four years afterwards he was prefented with the Military Gifts at the African triumph of Cafar, though by reason of his age he had never had experience in the Wars. A while after, his Uncle going into Spain against Pompey's children, he followed him with a small Train, though he was scarce recover'd of a fit of fickness, the wayes infested by the Enemy, and he not only ran the hazard, but was actually Shipwreckt by the way; by which diligence in his journey, and the sweetness of his deportment when he came there, he indeared himfelf to his Uncle exceedingly. Having reduc'd the Spaniards to their obedience, and deligning a new War

War upon the Daci and Parthians, Cefar fent Ausustus before to Apollonia to follow his studies for fome time: As foon as he had intelligence that Cafar was dead, and had left him his Heir, delibe rating with himself a good while, whether he should implore the assistance of the neighbouring Legions; at last he laid by those thoughts as precipitous and unseasonable. Being return'd to Rome, he immediately made claim to his Inheritance, though his Mother knew not what to refolve in the Cafe, and his Father in Law Mortius Philippus (who had formerly been Conful) was positively against it, and diffwaded him what he could. From which time, having levied fuch Forces as were necessary, he govern'd the Commonwealth first with M. Anthonie, and M. Lepidus, then with Mark Anthony alone almost twelve years, and afterwards four and forty by himfelf.

9. Having propos'd to my felf to write a fummary of his life, I shall deduce the particulars not according to the order of time, but according to the nature and quality of his actions, which I conceive will render them more comprehensible and distinct. He had five Civil Wars in his time, viz. at Mutina, Philippi, Perusium in Sicilia, and at Actium : The first and last were against Marc. Anthonie, the fecond against Brutus and Cassius, the third against L. Antonius the brother of the Triumvir, and the fourth against Sextus Pompeius, Cn. Pompeius his

Son.

10. The pretence and foundation of all his Wars, was therevenging his Uncles death, as judging nothing more plaufible & convenient for his ends, than to profecute that vigourously, and to justifie his decrees! As foon as he was return'd from Apollonia, his his first design was either so surprize Cassius, and Brutus, by some artifice, or to suppress them otherwife by force; but they having taken the alarm, fled for their fecurity, and spoil'd that design: Being gone, he defifted not from his Revenge, but betaking himself to the Law, he accus'd them of Treason, and the Murther of Casar, (though they were absent.) Observing that those who had the charge of Exhibiting the Playes publickly defign'd for Casars Victory, were afraid to undertake them, he affum'd their offices, and exhibited them himfelf; and that he might the better go thorow with what ever he should afterwards attempt, he endeavour'd to be fubrogated in the place of a Tribune of the people, (who was by accident dead at that time) though he was a Patrician, and no Senator: But M. Anthony opposing him with all his force, from whom he expected his greatest assistance, and perceiving nothing was to be done by him without contract and promife of great reward, he apply'd himself to the Nobility and Senators of the Town, which he knew at that time had no great inclinations to Antonius for feveral reasons, and amongst the rest, that he had besieg'd D. Brutus in Modena, and would have driven him out of a Province which was given him by Cefar, and confirm'd to him by the Senate: But this not being fufficient, he was perswaded by some persons to assassinate Antonius; but that Plot being discover'd, and he himself apprehensive of the same practices, he infinuated with the Veteran Army by all the bounty and indulgence imaginable, and prevail'd with them to undertake the defence of the Publick interest, and his own. Being made General of this Army, instead of the Prator, and with Hirties, and Panfa, the Confuls comcommanded to the relief of D. Brutus; in two Battels, and three months time he ended that War, Antonius reports, he ran away in the first fight, and two dayes afterwards appear'd indeed, but without his Paludamentum his Robe of Command, or his Horse; But howsoever he behaved himself there, in the next battel he shew'd himself not only a Captain, but a Souldier; for the Standard bearer of his Legion being desperately wounded, he took the Standard from him, and carried it upon his own shoulders a long time.

dying a while after of his wounds, it was commonly reported he had made them away, to the end that Antonius being routed, and the Common-wealth without Confuls, he might have fole possession of the Conquering Army; and indeed Pansa's death was so suspicious, that Glyco his Physitian was clapt into Prison for putting poison into his wound: And Aquilius Niger assistant Hirtius the other Consul was killed by Augustus his own hands in the throng

and confusion of the fight.

flight was received by Lepidus, and that the rest of the Captains and Commanders of his Army had declared for the Senate, he abandon'd that party immediately upon pretence of a disgust they had given him by words spoken in his contempt; some of them having call'd him Boy, and others said he deserved to be dress'd, and taken up, (or off) that by that means both himself and his Veterans might be paid their arrears; and that his desertion of that party might appear more sincere, he not only laid a greater Fine upon the Nursines than they were able to bear, but banish'd them the Town for non-payment of it, be-

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cause they had erected a Monument at the publick charge for such as were slain at the battel of Modena, with an inscription, importing, That they died for

the liberty of the City.

13. Having made a League with Antonius and Lepidus, in two battels he compleated the Philippin Wars, though he was indifpos'd, and fcarce recover'd of a late fit of sickness. In the first ingagement he was beaten out of his Camp, and with much ado escap'd to Antonius his wing; however he got the Victory, and managed it with great feverity, for he fent Brutus his head to Rome to be placed at the foot of Cafars Statue, and treated the rest of his Prisoners of the highest condition with as much cruelty as contempt: To one that begg'd only that he might be buried, he reply'd, That that was now in the power of the Birds: And the Father and the Son begging mutually for one anothers lives, he order'd them either to draw lots, or commanded them by fighting to determine the doubt, standing by himfelf whilst both of them died; the Father (who offer'd himfelf) being killed, and the Son (with indignation of the Spectacle) dispatching himself: Infomuch that feveral others, and M. Favonius, the great imitator of Cato, amongst the rest, being brought out in Chains to Execution, They faluted Antonius with great respect, giving him the Title of Emperour, but upbraided Octavius with his inhumanity to his face. After this Victory they divided their Commands, Antonius undertook the Government of the East, and Augustus to reconduct the old Souldiers into Italy, and to dispose them into the Municipal Territories assigned to them; but he managed his business so, that he fatisfied neither Inhabitants nor Souldiers, one party complaining they were disposses, the other that they were not rewarded proportionably, either to their expectation or deserts.

14. About this time L. Antonius prefuming upon the authority of the Confulship, and the power of his Brother, was contriving new troubles in the State; but Octavius interposed, beat him into Perusia, and forc'd him to furrender for want of Provisions; Yet not without great dangers to himself both before and in the War; for observing a Common Souldier fitting in the Gentlemens feats at a Stage-Play, he commanded him to be pull'd down by an Officer, and a report being spread by his Enemies that he had tortur'd him thereupon; the rest of the Souldiers in great tumult and indignation demanded their Camerade, and doubtlefs he had run great hazard in the Tumult, had not the Souldier been immediately produc'd without any injury at all. He escap'd very narrowly also as he was facrificing before the walls of Perusia; for a Sally being made on a fudden, he mis'd narrowly of being either taken or killed.

ruelty; fuch as would have excus'd themselves, or submitted, he cut short with these words, Tou must die. Some have writ, that he selected three hundred of both Orders from the rest of his Prisoners, and sacrificed them upon the Ides of March before the Altar dedicated to D. Julius; Others affirm he took up Arms on purpose for the detection of his Enemies, as conceiving that such as had been restrain'd rather by fear than allegiance, and opportunity given by their Captain Antonius, would probably declare for him, which he not doubting to overcome, resolv'd to consistate their Estates, and inable

inable himself that way to recompence his Veterans

as he had faithfully ingag'd.

16. The Sicilian War he began betimes, but it proved very tedious, by feveral intermissions, fometimes to repair his Navy, which was twice wreckt in one Summer, fometimes being forc'd to a Truce by the importunities of the people, who being in great want of provisions (all passages stop'd) they became desperate of supplies, grew impatient of the War, and compell'd him to a Treaty. At last, having rigg'd out a new Fleet, and manumitted twenty thousand Slaves to be brought up at his Oares, he made the haven at Bayes by letting in the Sea into the Lakes Lucrinus, and Avernus. In which place, after he had exercis'd his Seamen a whole winter together, advancing against Pompey, he overcame him betwixt Mylas, and Naulochum; as they were just ready to ingage, he was furpris'd with fo found a fleep, his friends were forc'd to wake him to give the fignal, which gave occasion to Antonius to upbraid him, That he was not able with his own eyes to see how his Fleet was drawn up, but lying tumbling upon his back, and gazing upon the Skies, he noither rose, nor shew'd himself to his Souldiers, till Agrippa had broken and dispers'd the Enemies Fleet. Others condemn him both in his actions, and words, particularly for faying in publick, after his Fleet was ruin'd by ftorm, That he would have the Victory in despight of Neptune; and in the next folemn Circensian Games, he would not suffer the Image of the said God to be seen in the Ceremony. Never did his imprudence expose him to more dangers than in this War, for having landed one part of his Army in Sicily, and returning to the Continent for the transportation of the reft,

lest, he was so surpris'd and overlaid by Demochares and Apollophanes (two of Pompey's Lieutenants) he had much ado to get off with one fingle Vessel. Another time, passing by Locris towards Rhegium on foot, and perceiving Pompey's Galleys standing to the shore, he suppos'd them to be his own, made towards them as fast as he could, and was in a fair way of being taken Prisoner. Having made his escape from them, and preserv'd himself thorow Lanes, and by-wayes, he was met by a Slave belonging to Emilius Paulus (his Companion) who refenting that he had formerly profcribed his Masters Father, and judging that a convenient opportunity to revenge it, he attempted to kill him. After he had routed Pompey, M. Lepidus one of his Colleagues (whom he had invited out of Africk to his relief) growing so insolent upon confidence in his twenty Legions, that with threats he demanded the foveraignty of the rest: He turn'd him out of the Army, and having with great difficulty granted him his life, he banish'd him perpetually into the Island Circei.

17. His Leagues with Antonins being doubtful and uncertain, and patch'd up upon occasion by several reconcilements, he brake with him quite, at last; and that he might render him the more obnoxious to the people, and his actions demonstrate how much he was degenerated from the integrity of a Citizen, he caus'd his will, (which he had lest behind him at Rome) to be publickly read, in which he had nominated Cleopatra's Children, among the rest of his Heirs. Nevertheless, though he had declared him an Enemy to the State, He dismiss his relations and friends and sent them to him, and amongst the rest C. Sosius, and Tr. Dominated Tr. Dominated

tius, both Confuls at that time. The Bolonians being antient dependants and followers of the Antonii, he excus'd and dispenc'd with, for not Confederating with the rest of Italy in his behalf: a while after he overcame Antonius in a Sea-fight near Actium, which lasting till the Evening, he was forc'd to lie all night (Conqueror as he was) on Shipboard. From Actium he past into Samos for winter Quarters, but understanding that the Souldiers he had drawn out of his whole Army after the Victory, and fent before to Brundusum, had mutinously demanded dismission and pay; he returned into Italy again, but not without danger of being twice cast away by the violence of the weather, once betwixt the Promontories of Peloponnesus, and Atolia, the other about the Mountains Ceraunii; Both in one and the other some part of his Fleet was cast away, the Tackling of his own Ship rent, and his rudder broken; He stay'd but twenty seven dayes at Brundusum, then having appeas'd the Mutiny, and fatisfied his Souldiers, Coasting by Asia, and Syria, he fail'd into Egypt, besieg'd Alexandria (whither Antonius and Cleopatra were fled) reduc'd it in a short time, and because Antonius had neglected his opportunity of making his peace, he not only compell'd him to kill himself, but took delight to behold him when he was dead. He had a great defire to have preferved Cleopatra for his Triumph, and imploy'd feveral of the Pfilli to fuck out the poison out of her Breast, which her Asps had infused, but in vain: However he buried them honourably together, and commanded the Tomb which they had began themselves to be speedily finish'd. Antonias the younger (the eldest of his two Sons by Fulvia) not being able with all his prayers and obsecrations

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to mitigate the anger of Octavius, he fled to the Image of D. Julius, as to a Sanctuary, but Octavius commanded him to be pull'd violently from thence and dispatch'd. Casario also (whom Cleopatra declared she had had by Casar) he setch'd out of the place whither he was sled, and put him to death, the rest of their Children, he preserved as if they had been his own relations, advancing them after-

wards according as they were qualified.

18. At the same time the Cossin of Alexander the great being brought to him out of its Sepulcher, he furvey'd the embalmed Body as it lay, and having viewed it a while, he put a Crown of Gold upon its head, and strew'd flowers about it, with great Veneration; and being ask'd if he would fee Ptolomies alfo, he replyed, His curiofity was to fee a King, not a dead Man: Having reduced Egypt into a Province, that he might render it more fertile, and commodious for the supplying of Rome, by the incredible labour of his Souldiers, he cleanfed all the Ditches into which the Nile overflowed, which for a long time before had been choak'd up with mud. That the memory of his Actiack Victories might be more famous to posterity, he built the City of Nicopolis not far from Actium, and constituted certain Plays and Games there every five years. He enlarged the old Temple of Apollo likewife, and having adorned the place where he incamped, with the spoils and prizes he had taken at Sea, he confecrated it to Neptune and Mars.

19. After this there were several tumults in the City, and many plots and conspiracies laid against him which he discovered in time, and supprest before they came to maturity; as first the conspiracy of Lepidus Junior, then that of Varro, Murana, and

Fannius

Fannius Cepio, a while after that of M. Egnatius, next Plantins Rufus and L. Paulus who married his Grand-daughter. That of L. Andasius an old and infirm man, who had been formerly accused of forging of Wils; after that Asimius Epicadus, descended from the Parthines, of a Mungril extraction: and last of all of Telephus, a pittiful Nomenclator, and fervant to a woman; Nay so ingrateful was he become, he was in danger of his life, even by the meanest and most abject of the people. Audasius and Epicadus, had laid their plots to have furprifed his Daughter Julia and his Grand-son Agrippa, in the Islands in which he had disposed them, and to have carried them to the Army. Telephus being perswaded he was designed to the Empire by his destiny and fate, refolv'd to have attempted both the Senate and Augustus too. There was taken one night a Servant or Pedee, belonging to the Illyrian Army, who had Stoln into the Chamber with a Hunts-mans Skeane by his fide, having flipt by his Guards; but whether he was really distracted, or did only pretend fo, is not certainly known, for they could extort nothing from him with all the torments they could inflict.

twice against foreign Enemies, first in the Wars in Dalmatia (at which time he was but young) and having overthrown Anthonius, his second was in the expedition against the Cantabrians. In his Dalmatick wars he receiv'd several hurts, in one Battle, he got a blow on his right knee with a stone, and in another he hurt one of his legs, and both his Arms, by the fall of a bridge. The rest of his Wars he managed by his Lieutenants, but so as in his Pannonian and German wars, he was many times present in

in person, or else at hand upon occasion, having removed from Rome, to Ravenna, Milan, or Aqui-

leis on purpose.

21. By his own Conduct fometimes, and fometimes by his Lieutenants, he fubdued the Cantabrians, Aquitans, Pannonians, Dalmatians, and all Illyrium, besides the Rhatians, Vindelicians, and Salassians inhabiting the Alps. He repell'd also the Incursions of the Dacians, having slain three of their Generals, and cut off a vast number of their Men. He forc'd the Germans beyond the River Elbe, but the Ubii and Sicambrians, Submitting to his Terms, he transplanted into France, and difposed them upon the banks of the Rhine. He reduc'd other Nations to obedience likewife, but never invaded any without just, and unavoidable occasion: and so little Testimonies did he give of his ambition, either of dominion or honour by unlawful waies, that he contented himself with the Oaths only of several Barbarian Princes, who swore to him in the house of Marstherevenger, that they would keep their Faith most religiously, and preserve that Peace which fo graciously he had granted them; but from some of them he requir'd Hostages, and that of a new kind, for observing they were not so careful of their men, he exacted Women at that time; yet he never dealt fo strictly with them, but that they might have their pledges again when they themselves pleased. The most frequent, and most perfidious of his Rebels, he never punish'd worse than by felling them as Captives, with condition, that they should not ferve in any Neighbouring Countrey, nor be manumitted and made free withinthirty years space. The reputation of his Virtue and moderation was so great, that the Indians, and

and Scythians, known only by name, were induc'd to fend Embassadors to desire his friendship; No sooner had he signified to the Parthians, the title and pretence the Commonwealth had to Armenia, but they immediately resigned, restored the Ensigns they had taken from M. Crassus, and M. Antonius, upon his demand, and gave him hostages also; lastly, several Princes being in competition at the same time for a certain Kingdom, They referr'd it to his Arbitrament, and would not admit of any other determination.

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land and Sea, he shut up the Temple of Janus Quirinus thrice, (which had been shut up but twice before from the building of the City, and in a much shorter space than it was shut up the two times before.) Twice he entred the City by way of Ovation, once after the Philippick, and again after his Sicilian war; three times he triumph'd, for three dayes together, after his Dalmatick, his Actiack, and

his Alexandrian Victories:

23. He fustain'd but two considerable losses in all his wars, and both of them in Germany; Lollius his defeat was more dishonourable than prejudicial, But Varius his was almost irrecoverable. Three Legions with their General, Lieutenants and all their Auxiliaries being utterly cut off. Upon the news of this disaster, he set watches night and day in the City to prevent any tumult, or uprore; prolonging the Governments of his Provinces, that the Allies might the better be kept in their allegiance by experienc'd Captains, and such as were accustomed to them. He vowed also great Games to Jupiter; If he would vouchsafe to restore the Common-wealth to a better condition, which had been formerly done in the time

time of the Cimbrian and Marsian Wars. In short, it is reported he was so much discompos'd at this missfortune, that he let his beard and his hair grow for several months together, knocking his head many times against the doors, crying out aloud, Give me my Legions again Quintilius Varus; and kept the day of his defeat as a mourning and fasting day every

ry year after.

24. In his Military Discipline many things he alter'd, and many he instituted, and some he reduc'd to the primitive Order, he was very fevere in keeping his Soldiers to their duty, not fuffering (but with great difficulty) his Lieutenants to make a visit to their Wives, and that only when their Armies were in their Winter Quarters. A Roman Knight cutting off the Thumbs of two of his Sons thereby to difenable them for the Wars, he commanded him to be fold and Confiscated his Estate; But seeing Money bid liberally for him, by the Publicans of the City, he ordered him to be delivered to one of his Libertines, to be fent down into the Countrey and live there at his freedom. His tenth Legion obeying Orders unwillingly, he disbanded with difgrace, and others which demanded infolently to be dismist, he Cashier'd without any reward: if in his Engagements, any of his Cohorts gave ground, or were difordered, he executed every tenth man, and allowed the rest nothing but Barly. The Captains or Officers of his Cohorts abandoning their Posts, were punish'd likewise with death. If their offences were but small, his sentence was proportionable, contenting himfelf with making them stand all day long upright before his Pretorium: fometimes ungirt in their Tunicks only, fometimes with long poles in their hands, sometimes with tursfs of Earth.

25. After his Civil wars were ended he never called his Soldiers Fellow-Soldiers, but Soldiers, both in his Orations and Edicts. Nor would he fuffer his own or his wives children who had the Command of Armies at that time, to call them any otherwise; conceiving it undecent, and unfutable either with his Military Discipline, the Tranquillity of those times, or the Grandeur of himself and Family. were in Rome upon occasion of Fires, or when any Commotion of the people was apprehended from the scarcity of Provisions, he never put the Servants into Arms but twice, The first time for defence of the Colonies upon the Frontiers of Illyricum, the other to make good the Banks of the Rhine. He exacted them than from the richer fort both Men and Women, and being manumitted forth-with, he put them under his first colours, distinguishing them from his free-born men as well by their places, as arms. He more readily and frequently bestowed Military gifts, (as Trappings, Chains, and whatever was made of Silver and Gold,) than Vallar, or Mu ral Crowns, which (being more honour) he conferr'd but feldom, and then without any partiality, to the meanest of his Souldiers if his actions deferv'd it. He presented M. Agrippa with a blew Standard up on his Naval Victory in Sicily; fuch as had triumph though they had been his affociates, and born part in his Expeditions and Victories, were the only perfors he never judg'd fit to be presented with those Milita ry rewards, and for this Reason, because they had the fame rightto give them to every body themselves: He held this as an infallible Maxime, that rashness, and precipitancy in a General, were the greatest defects; and therefore he had this faying frequently in his Mouth, No more haste than good speed, slow and Sure,

fure, whatever is well done, is done time enough. He maintain'd, that War was never to be undertaken, nor a Battel never to be given; but where the advantage hoped for was apparently greater than the loss fear'd; for, said he, Those who hazard much to gain but little, are like them who fish with hooks of Gold, whose loss is never to be repaired by any prize they

can take.

26. He arrived at the Magistracy, and other honours before he was at age, fome of them were of new constitution, and some perpetual. He Usurped the Confulship at twenty three years of age, by drawing up his Army about the Town, and deputing persons to demand his Election in the name of the whole Army; and the Senate appearing scrupulous, and unwilling to come to a Refolution, Connelius Centurio (the chief person that was fent) laying his hand upon the hilt of his Sword, and throwing off his Coat, had the confidence to tell them, This shall do the business, if you will not. Nine years after his first Consulship, he bore his second, the third a year after that, and fo his others fuccessively till they came to eleven, afterwards he refused feveral which were offer'd him for feventeen years together, but at last he defired his twelfth Confulhip himself, and two years after, his thirteenth, to the end that being in that Grandeur, he might bring his Sons Cains and Lucius (who were then Students at Law) with the more oftentation, and authority to the Bar. His five intermediat Confulships betwixt his fixth and eleventh he administred the whole year thorow, the rest only for nine or fix, or four, or three Months; but the fecond for some hours only, for upon the Calends of January in the morning, having plac'd himself before the TemTemple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and fat there for fome time in his Curule Chair he refigned that Office and substituted another: Nor did he enter upon his Consulships always at Rome, but the fourth he began in Asia, the fifth in the life of Samos, and his

eighth and ninth in Tarragan.

27. For the better Regiment of the Common. wealth, he bore the Triumvirat for ten years together, in which he refisted his Colleagues for a while, and oppos'd the Proscription, but when it was commenc'd, he executed it with more feverity than his Comerades, who yielding many times to the prayers and importunities of feveral persons, he endeavoured with all eagerness alone that none might be spared, proscribing C. Toranius who had been his Tutor, and his Father Octavius his Colleague in his Ædileship. Junius Saturnius goes farther and tells us that when the time for the Proscription was expir'd, and M. Lepidus had excused what was past in the Senate, and promisd more Clemency for the future, feeing justice had been fatisfied abundantly; Augustus stood up and declared to the contrary, telling them boldly. That he had fet no limits to the proscription, but his own will, and would proceed therein still as he pleased himself. Nevertheless repenting afterward of his obstinacy, he honor'd J. Vinius Philopamen with the order of Knighthood, for having conceal'd his Patron formerly, in the -time he was profcrib'd: During his Triumviracy he contracted much envy by his comportment; for upon a time as he was making a Speech to the Souldiers, Pinarius a Roman Knight coming in with feveral Citizens to hear his Harangue, and writing down fuch paffages of his Oration as he lik'd, concluding him pragmatical and a fpy, he commanded him

him to be killed before his face. Tedius Afer (being Conful Elect) having reflected too sharply upon fome of his actions, heterrified fo desperately with his threats, that in a melancholly fit, he threw himfelf down a precipice, and brake his own neck. Q. Gallius the Prator, coming to falute him and pay him his devoirs, with a pair of double writing Tables under his robe, he imagined it a poinard, but not daring to inquire into the truth at that time, left fomething elfe might be found, he suspended his anger for a while, but not long after he caus'd him to be torn from the Tribunal by his Guards, and tortur'd like a flave, (and confessing nothing) he pull'd out his Eyes with his own hands, and then commanded him to be killed. But he writes himfelf that Gallius defigned to have stabb'd him as they were in discourse, that he clapt him in prison, at length banish'd him the City, and that afterwards he perish'd either by Shipwrack or Thieves. He made himself perpetual Tribune, in which he admitted no Colleagues, but twice he affum'd the perpetual regulation of Manners and Laws, and though never dignify'd with the Office of Cenfor, yet he muster'd the people three times; the first and last with a Colleague, the second by himself alone.

28. Twice he had thoughts of affigning the Government into the hands of the Senate; the first time was presently after he had defeated Antonius, and upon this score, because he had often pretended Antonius was the only impediment which hinder'd him: the other was upon a long fit of sickness, in which he call'd the Senators and Magistrates of the City to his house, and deliver'd them all the Rolls and Records of the Empire. But upon second thoughts, considering that he could not live as a private

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private person, without great danger, and that it would be imprudence to commit the Government of the Commonwealth to the management of fo many, he perfished in his resolution to hold it himfelf, and 'tis a doubt to this day whether his fuccess or his defign was more happy: This defire he declar'd often times in his discourse, but more remarkably in one of his Edicts in these words; Would to God I might so fix and establish this Commonwealth upon its proper Basis, and reap such fruits of my labour as I desire, that I may hereafter be reputed the founder of so excellent a Fabrick, and carry this hope along with me when I die, that the Commonwealth will continue and flourish upon the foundations which I have laid: and certainly by his own Conduct he compast his desires, endeavouring by all means that no man might have just cause to complain of the alteration of the Government.

29. The City being neither beautified according to the Majesty of the Empire, nor free from Inundations and Fires, he repair'd and imbellish'd it to that degree, as he was wont to boast, (and not without reason) Though he found it but Loam, he should leave \* Marble: He provided also as far as humane industry or invention was capable for its future fecurity; He rais'd many publick Buildings, amongst which the chief were, the Forum or Court of Justice, the Temple of Mars the Avenger, the Temple of Apollo in Palatia, and the Temple of Fove the Thun-That which most powerfully derer in the Capitol. excited him to the building of the Forum, was the multitude of Clients and Caufes, which being too numerous for the two old Courts, feem'd to call for a third: Whereupon it was erected with all possible speed, before his Temple of Mars was finish'd,

nish'd, and Proclamation put forth, that all publick Trials, and all Elections of Judges by lot, should be held feparately in that place. He devoted the Temple to Mars in his Philippick Wars, which he undertook in revenge of the death of his Father : He decreed therefore that the Senate should meet for the future in that place, to confult about all matters of War, or Triumphs: that the Governors of Provinces, and Generals of Armics, should be attended from hence when they went away to their Commands, and that fuch as returned with fuccess, should hang up the Ensigns and Trophies of their Triumphs in this place. He built the Temple of Apollo in that part of the Palatium, which (according to the interpretation of the Southfayers) being struck down with thunder, that God had defired, he adorned it with a fair Gallery, and Library both of Greek and Latine Books: In his old age he fat oftentimes in Council with the Senate, and furvey'd the Decuries of the Judges: The Temple of Jupiter the Thunderer, he built upon a dangerous oscape he had had in Cantabria, for travelling in those parts by night, a flash of Lightning glanced upon his Litter, and ftruck a Servant of his dead, which was lighting himalong. Other things he did under other peoples names, as of his Wife, his Sifter, and his Nephews; he built the Gallery and Portico of Loncius and Cains, and alfo the Palaces of Livie, and Octavia, and the Theater of Marcellus, and as if all this had been too little; he often exhorted the principal and most wealthy persons of the City, that they would each of them according to their faculties erect or repair some Monument or other that might remain an honour and ornament thereunto, and upon his perswasion, many did build: Marcius

cius Philippus built the Temple of Hercules Musarum, L. Cornificius the Temple of Diana, Asimius Pollio the Court of Liberty, Munatius Plancus the Temple of Saturn, Cornelius Balbus a Theatre, Statilius Taurus an Amphitheatre, and Marcus Agrippa seve-

ral, and those magnificent Structures.

30. Having divided the City into Wards, and Streets, he order'd the first to be govern'd by Aldermen or Magistratesannually chosen, and the Streets by the most considerable of the people. He was the first which appointed Watches and Guards to go about on nights to prevent any mischief that should happen by Fire: against Inundations or overflowings of the River he enlarged and cleans'd the Tiber, which for a long time had been choak'd up with rubbish, and the ruines of houses; and that the City might be the more accessible on all sides, he took upon himself the reparation of the Via Fluminia as far as Ariminum, leaving the rest of the Cawfeys to be mended by certain persons which had triumpht, and the charges to be defray'd out of the Spoils of the Enemy. Such Churches also as had been destroy'd by time, or any accident by fire, he reedified himself, and inrich'd both them and the rest with most magnificent Presents. To the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus he gave at once 16000 pound weight of Gold, besides Jewels and precious Stones, to the value of 50 millions of Sefterces. DIS

hood upon himself, which during his life he would never take from him: Having got together all the Prophecies and Books of Predictions written by unknow or unapproved Authors, either in Greek or in Latine, he caus'd them to be burnt, to the num-

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ber of 2000, and upward, referving only fome felect pieces of the Sybils, which he disposed into two gilt Desks under the Piedestal of Apollo Palatinus. He reduc'd the Year to D. Julius's Calculations, which by the negligence of that age was become diforder'd and confus'd; in the regulation of which he chose to call the Month Sextilis by his own name, rather than September in which he was born, because in that month he obtain'd not only his first Confulship, but many remarkable Victories. He augmented the Number, the Dignity, and the Revenue of the Priests, but especially of the Vestal Virgins: The Esteem he had of that Order appear'd by this, that there being one of those Virgins dead, and another of necessity to be chosen in her place, obferving many applications made to keep their Daughters from the danger of that Lottery, he protested publickly, That if any of his Grand-daughters were of competent years he would present her to the place. He restored some of the ancient Ceremonies likewife, which time had abolish'd by degrees; as the Augury of Salus: the Flamen ship of Jupiter: the Lupercal Games: the Secular, and the Compitalitial Playes. In the Lupercal Solemnities, he forbad all fuch Youths as had no beards to bear a share; In the Secular Playes, he prohibited the young people of both fexes to be prefent at any of the Revels, unless in the company of some graver person of their relations. He decreed the Lares Compitales, or Houshold-Gods, should be adorn'd twice a year with Flowers, that is, both in the Spring and the Summer: After the honour and reverence he gave to the Gods, there was nothing in that veneration with him, as the memory of those Captains who had contributed to the advancement of the Roman Empire

pire from so inconsiderable a beginning: for which reason he repair'd all their Monuments, reserving their old Titles and Inscriptions, and dedicating their Statues and triumphal Essigies in both the Galleries or Portices of his Forum, or Court of Justice, having declar'd in an Edict, That his design was to propose them as a pattern and example, by which himself while he lived, and the Princes that should succeed, might order and frame themselves, and the people exast their conformity. He removed the Statue of Pompey from the Court where Casar was murder'd, and disposed it upon a Triumphal Arch of Marble over

against the Court of his Theatre.

32. He corrected feveral things of evil Example, which had been introduc'd by the liberty of the Wars, or the fecurity of Peace, and would in time have contributed much to the destruction of the State. For there were great numbers of Highway-Men or Banditi, which walkt publickly with their Swords by their fides, pretending their own defence, who notwithstanding seized upon all Travellers without distinction, either of servants or freemen, and carrying them away, made them work hard in their Store-houses in the Countrey: There were also several parties or factions which had form'd themselves into a society calling themfelves the new Colledge, and obliging themselves to one another in all manner of iniquity what foever: whereupon disposing his Guards in convenient places, he supprest those robbers, he visited their Workhouses, and abolish'd all Fraternities but such as were antient and legal. He burnt all the old Bonds and Accounts which were due to the publick Treafury, as the chief occasion of all vexatious Suing: If the Title of any publick place in the City was doubtful and litigious, he awarded it to him that was in possession. Old Prisoners, both Criminals, and fuch as were kept under restraint, only to delight their Creditors or Informers with their fquallour and wants, he releast, with this caution, that if any one molested them again, they should run the same Risque, and be punish'd like them: Nevertheless that no enormity or cause might escape unpunisht, or be delay'd, he took thirty dayes from the honorary Playes, and adding them to the old terms, he appointed them to be imploy'd in hearing and determinating of pleas and actions. To the three decuries of Judges he added a fourth, which was inferior to the relt, and called the Court of the Ducenary, as having cognizance of actions to the value of two hundred Sefterces and under. admitted Judges at 25 years of age, five years fooner than anciently they did. But many of them declining that office as tedious and troublesome, he granted at last, but with much difficulty, that each Court or Decury snould alternately have its annual vacation, and that fuch Causes as were wont to be heard in November and December, should be omitted and laid by.

33. He was very assiduous in hearing of Causes in his own person, and would sit some time with patience a good part of the night; if he had any indisposition upon him he was brought into the Court in his Litter, or else would hear them in his own Palace, lying along upon a Couch. He administred justice with as much clemency as strictness if the cause would bear it, for a person being accused before him as a Parricide, and by the law (if he confest) to be sown into a sack, and thrown into the Sea, to rescue him from that punishment, and soit were dictate to him

him what he was to answer, he interrogated him thus, Sure it was not you killed your Father. Again there being a business before him about forging a Will, and all the witnesses which set their hands to it, ipso facto guilty by the Law Cornelia, he gave to the Judges not only the two Tables of Condemnation, and Absolution, but a third and intermediate Table, by which they were to be pardon'd, who were deluded, and had been perswaded to sign either by fraud or surprize. The appeals of the Citizens he appointed to be determined before the Prætor of the City: but all actions or pleas in his Provinces, he order'd to be judg'd by Consulary persons, such as he had deputed on purpose in every Province.

34. He revised and corrected several obsolete Laws, and others he made perfectly new, as namely his Sumptuary Laws, his Laws against Adultery, Sodomy, and all kind of incontinence, his Laws against Bribery and corrupt acquisition of offices; as also about Marriages: but having been more strict and precise in reformation of this Law than the rest, he could not pass it into an Act for the multitude of oppofers, till he had moderated it & cut off a part of the penalty, granted an indulgence for three years,& besides augmented the rewards. Yet not contented with that, when a certain Roman Knight stood up at a Publick Spectacle, and prest very peremptorily that that Law might be abolish'd, he caused Germanicus his Children to be called, who being come and fome of them got into his lap, and fome into their Fathers, with his hand and his head he made figns to him that he should follow the example of that young Gentleman, and marry: and observing by the immaturity of contracts, and frequent changing of Marriages, the force and feverity of the Law was

was eluded, he limited the time of their Contracts, and regulated the extravagancies of divorces.

35. The Number of Senators growing exorbitantly great, confisting of more than a thousand, and fome of them mean and unworthy perfons (having after Cafars death by favour and bribery wrought themselves into the Senate and were called Orcini by the people) he reduc'd them to their primitive number and glory, and that by two manner of Elections, in the first as they pleas'd themselves every one might choose his man; in the second as he and Agrippa thought fit; only it is reported, that as he presided at this Election, he was arm'd with a coat of Male under his Cloathes, a Sword by his fide, and ten of the most valiant of the Senators his friends standing about his Chair. Cordus Cremutius writes, that even then none of the Senators were admitted to come into the House, but alone, and after they had been fearcht: He forc'd fome of them to that point of modesty as to excuse themselves from sitting in the Senate, yet he preserv'd to them the priviledge of their habit, the honour of fitting in the Orchestra amongst the Senators at Playes, and their right of precedence at Publick Feasts: And that fuch as were elected and approved might perform the functions of Senators with more religion than trouble, he decreed that before they took their feats in the Senate, each of them should pay their devotions with Frankincense and Wine before the Altar of that God in whose Temple they were affembled; and that for the future, the Senate should fit (unless upon extraordinary occasion) but twice a month, viz. on the Calends and Ides, and in September and October, that it should not be necessary that any more should meet than a certain precise

number to be chosen by lot, which should be sufficient to pass any Ordinance or Decree: He instituted a Counsellour himself to be chosen by lots also every six months, to debate and prepare such Bills as were to be prefer'd afterwards to the Senate in matters of great importance; he ask'd not the judgments of the Senators according to Order, or the method of old, but every mans as he pleas'd himself, to the end that every one might be oblig'd to as much intention, as if he were to advise, as well as to consent.

Acts, as that the transactions in the Senate should not be made publick. That the Magistrates which had honourably acquitted themselves of their charges should not be immediately hurried away into the Provinces. That a certain sum of Money should be allowed to the Proconsuls for their accomodation with Mules and Tents, which formerly were hired for them by the Publick. That the charge of the Treasury should be translated from the Quastors of the City, to the Prators, or such as had been Prators before. That the Centumviral Court which in former times was called together by the Quastors, should after that time be assembled by the Decemviri.

37. And that there might be more sharers in the administration of the Commonwealth he invented new places, as the Overseer of the Publick works, the Highways, the Waters, the Channel of Tiber, and the distributions of Corn amongst the people: The Provostship of the City: Two Triumvirats, one for the Election of Senators, and the other for mustering and reviewing the Horse as oft as there was occasion. The Censorship which for a long time had been laid

aside,

afide, he revived again, and increase the number of the Prators, and having demanded two Colleagues, as often as he should be chosen Conful, he could not obtain it, the people replying, it was already too much diminution to his honour to have one.

38. He was fo great an honourer of Military Virtue, that he granted compleat Triumphs to above thirty Captains, and Triumphal Ornaments to feveral more. To the end that the Sons of the Senators might be the more early accustomed to the management of publick affairs, he permitted them all at one time to put on the TogaV willis, the Senators Gown, and to be prefent in the Senate house when business was in transaction: at their first entrance alfo into the Wars, he not only made them Tribunes, or Colonels of Regiments, but he gave them the Commands of whole Wings, and Brigades, and that none of them might be ignorant in the Art of Encamping, he most commonly gave the Command of both Wings to two of the Senators Sons. He frequently called over his Cavalry, which for a long time had been discontinued, and revived the Custom of Transveltion, yet so as that he suffer'd not the accufers, to arrest or take any of them away as they were Mustring, (which in times past was usual:) if any were old, or maimed in the Wars, he permitted them to fend their horses before in their ranks, and to follow themselves on foot to answer as often as they were called, and at last he granted this favour to fuch as were past thirty five years of age, that they might deliver up their horses, if they had no farther inclination to the wars.

39. The Senate having appointed him ten Adjutants, or Assistants, he compelled all the Roman Horsemento give anaccount of their lives, punish-

ing some and disgracing others according to the quality of their offences; but admonishing most, and that several ways: His mildest way of admonition was, by giving them publickly a pair of writing Tables, and requiring them to read immediately, and to themselves. Others he reprehended, and disgrac'd for having taken up Money at small interest, and put

it out again at great.

40. In the Assemblies for the Election of Tribunes, if there were no Candidates out of the Senate, he created them out of the Gentlemen of Rome with liberty of continuing for the future in which Order they would choose. And because during the Civil Wars, feveral Gentlemen had ruined, or at least wasted and lessen'd their Patrimonies, so as they durst not appear at any publick plays or spectacles in the fourteen benches amongst the rest of their quality, for fear of the Theatral penalty; He pronounc'd them exempt, and not lyable to that Law, if either they themselves or their Ancestors had ever had a Gentlemans Estate. He call'd over the People by Streets, and that they might not be diverted too often from their affairs by the frequent distributions of Corn, he order'd that tickets should be given them, by virtue of which they might receive it three times in a year, but they begging and importuning to have their old Custome preserved, he alter'd his refolution, and continued their doles monthly as before. He restored likewise the antient priviledges and circumstances in Assemblies; He order'd feveral & fevere punishments against bribes and corrupt acquisition of Offices, and to prevent any expectation in that nature from the Competitors, on the day of his Election he distributed out of his own Purse, among the Fabians and Scapti ens

ens (who were of his own Tribe) a thousand Seferces a-piece. Conceiving it of importance to conferve the people of Rome intire, from any degenerate mixture with foreign or fervile blood, he granted the freedome of the City with great difficulty, and but rarely, and fet new limits to the manumifsion of slaves. Tiberius, desiring that freedom for a Grecian which was one of his Clients, he writ him this answer, That he would do nothing in the Case, unless he could come himself, and satisfie him of the jufice of his request: Livia interceding in like manner. for a Tributary Frenchmen, he peremptorily deni'd to make him free, yet granted him immunity. and exemption from his Tribute, with this profession, that he would fooner condescend to a diminution of the publick Revenue, than to prostitute or deprive the Honour of the Citizens. And as if it were not fufficient that he had by feveral difficulties interposed, made it no easie matter for a slave to get his liberty at all, but much more a just and compleat infranchisement, having by certain precife Rules determin'd both of the Number, Condition, and difference of fuch as should be fet free, he added this Article, That no slave which had ever been under anytorture, or in chains, should obtain the freedome of the City in any kind what soever. He endeavoured also to restore the ancient Modes and Fashions in apparel, and having observ'd a great number of Romans attending at an Assembly in their old dirty Cloaks, he cried out in great indignation: do you fee,

Romanos rerum dominos, Gentemq, togatam:

The Lords of the world, and the Nation of the long Robe.

And gave the Ædiles Orders that for the future no one should be permitted to sit either in the Courts of Justice, or Circus, but in their Gowns, without any

Cloak or Mantle whatever.

41. He express'd his liberality very frequently. and to all Orders of perions as occasion was offer'd. In his Alexandrine Triumph he brought Rome fo great a proportion of riches which he had taken from the Kings of Egypt, that thereby he made money very common, he lessen'd the value of Interest, and advanc'd the prices of Land: and as often (afterwards) as there was any thing redundant of confiscated goods, he was fo bountiful as to Iend it gratis for a time, to fuch persons as were able to fecure him his principal by double the value: he augmented the Estates of the Senators, and whereas before they were requir'd to have to the value of 800000 Sefterces, he exacted now they should have 1200000, and made up their sums which were defective with his own Moneys: He gave many Largesses and Congiaries to the people, and of different fums; fometimes four hundred, fometimes three, fometimes two hundred and fifty Sefferces a man: nor did he bawk the very Children themselves, though the custome before was they were to receive nothing till they were eleven, years Upon any scarcity of Victuals, he distributed Corn by the Poll amongst the people, fometimes at a small rate, sometimes for none at all, and sometimes he doubled their Tickets for moneys.

42. But that he may appear a Prince more folicitous of the good discipline of his people, than to have them live in Luxury and Profuseness, when complaint was made to him of the dearness and scarcity of Wine, he reproved them very sharply,

and told them, That his Son in Law Agrippa, had by his Aqua-ducts provided, that no body need die with Thirst; and being pres'd by them another time for a Dole he had promis'd them; he reply'd, His credit was not yet lost, he was still able to perform : But when they demanded a benevolence which he never had promis'd at all, he was fo far incens'd, that he publish'd an Edict, reproaching them by their impudence, and declaring he would then give them nothing though he had designed it before. Nor with less Gravity and Constancy did he proceed, when upon publication of a Congiary, he understood that feveral persons which had been manumitted, had crowded themselves into the number of the Citizens, he deny'd that he had promis'd them any thing, and for that reason gave Order they should have nothing at all: retrenching also what he had promis'd to the rest, that the sum he had appointed might be sufficient to go round. Upon a great fcarcity of Corn, there being no visible remedy, he was constrained to turn all Slaves, Gladiators and their Families, all Foreigners (except Physitians, or Schoolmasters) and some of the ordinary Domelticks out of the City: At length, the prices of Victuals returning to its old Standard, It was in his mind, to abolish those publick Purveyings for Corn, upon the Confidence of which the people neglected the int-provement of their Lands: However he persisted not long in that opinion, being affured the ambition of his successors would restore them some time or other : And therefore after this, he carried himself with that mediocrity to both parties, that he feem'd to have no less care and kindness for the Farmers in the Country, than for the Citizens of Rome. 43. In H 2

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43. In the frequency, variety and magnificence of his Shows and Playes, he exceeded all his Predecessors; he exhibited to the people in his own pame (as he affirms himself) four and twenty; and for other Magistrates which were either abfent or unable, three and twenty more: fometimes he appointed them to be acted in the streets in all languages, and by Actors of all Nations; not only in the Forum, and the Amphitheatre, but in the Circus and Septa; yet fometimes he represented only the baiting of wild Beafts. He built Scaffolds and Seats in the Campus Martius, that the people might with more convenience behold the Wrestlers and Fencers: He exhibited in like manner a natural Combate in a Lake digged on purpose near the Tiber, where Cafar's Grove grows now; upon which dayes he plac'd Guards about the City, lest the people running in multitudes to the Shews, and leaving their houses but slenderly provided at home, Thieves should take advantage of their absence, and rob them. He brought fuch persons into the Circus as were most experienc'd and dextrous at running, managing of Chariots, and killing of wild Beafts, amongst which he produc'd fometimes the Sons of the best Families in Rome. took great delight in the Tournament, or Warlike pastime called Troy, and making choice of his boys of greater and lesser stature, he exhibited it oftner than any of his Predecessors, as judging it an antient and honourable exercise, and becoming the education of the best of the Nobility. At the solemnity of this Game C. Nonius Afprenas having hurt himfelf with a fall from his Horse, he presented him with a chain of Gold, and permitted him and his posterity to bear the name of Torquatus for ever. But But not long after he discontinued that Games Asinius Pollio having made a bitter complaint against it in the Senate, upon occasion of his Grandchild Afferminus his breaking his thigh in the fame recreation. In his Comedies and the combats of Gladiators, he fometimes made use of his Knights of Rome, but it was before there was a decree of the Senate to the contrary; after that, he exhibited only one Noble Youth who was called Lucius, and him only because he was scarce two foot high, and weighed but feventeen pounds, and yet had a voyce extraordinary. Upon one of the dayes of this folemnity, the Parthian Hostages being newly arrived, he carried them to be spectators thorough the midst of the Stage, and placed them in the fecond rank above himself. He was wont also if any strange thing worthy the fight of the pople was brought to Rome, to expose it to their view, without observing the usual dayes or places for such Spectacles: He caused a Rhinoceros to be shown in the Park, a Tigre upon the Stage, and a Serpent 50 Cubits long, in the Court of Elections. Being folemnizing his Circensian Games, according to his Vow, he was taken ill of a fudden, yet he followed the Thenfa or facred Chariots with great devotion, lying along in his Litter. Another time whilst he was celebrating the fports at the dedication of the Theatre of Marcellus, it happen'd that his Curule Chair open'd by an unexpected flipping of the joynts, and laid him on his back. Again in one of the Playes exhibited by his Grand-Children, observing the people fo much discomposed by an apprehension of the falling of the Theatre, that they could not be recollected, he removed from his own feat, and plac'd himself where the danger was greatest.

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44. He

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44. He corrected the confusions and disorders which did frequently happen at these plays in former times, excited thereunto by an affront offered to a Senator at Putcoli, where at one of the greatest and most popular Assemblies no man would give him place. Whereupon it was decreed by the Senate that at all publick representations, the first rank of feats should be referved for the Senators for the future. He forbad also, That the Embassadors to Rome, (though from free Nations, and their Allies) should have any place in the Orchestra, because he had taken notice there were some of them but Libertines in degree. He distinguished likewise betwixt the Souldiers and the People: He assigned peculiar places to fuch as were married, though of the number of the Commons. To the young Gentry he appropriated a place by themselves, and appointed the next to them to be kept for their Tutors. He made an Order that none of the inferior fort should fit in the pit of the Theatre in their black Gowns, and forbad the Womens feeing fo much as the Gladiators promiscuously amongst the Men (as they had formerly done) assigning the upper Gallery for their place, only the Veltal Virgins were by peculiar favour permitted to fit in the Theatre apart by themselves, just over against the Prætors Tribunal. But at the Spectacle of the Wrestlers he was fo far from admitting any Woman at all, that in the Pontifical Plays the people defiring to fee a couple of them, he put them off till the next morning, and declared, He would have no Woman appear in the Theatre the next day, before eleven of the Clock.

45. For the most part he beheld the Circean Games himself, out of the Chambers of his friends, or such persons as he had infranchised; sometimes

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he fat upon the Bed (upon which the Images of the Gods were plac'd) with his Wife and Children. He would be absent from these Spectacles several hours, fometimes whole days together, but never without an Apology to the people, and till he had recommended fome other person, to preside in his place. When he was prefent, he was alwayes intent, not doing any thing elfe, either to avoid the reproaches which were cast upon his Father by the people, for reading and answering of Letters and Petitions, during the time of those folemnities, or out of a real delight he took in them, which he ingenuously profest without any diffimulation; For which reason at the Prizes and Plays of other people he gave Coronets and rewards of great value; and at all the Grecian Exercises he ever was at, he bestowed some honour or other upon the Actors according to their deserts. But of all his recreations, he was most affected with the Pugiles or engagements at fifty-cuffs; especially if they fought after the Mode of the Latimes: not fuch as were Champions by profession fo much (which he used notwithstanding to match against the Greeks) as the robust and doggeder fort of the Citizens when they fell together by the Ears among themselves in the streets, and belaboured one another without consideration or art. In shorthe had a particular regard to all persons relating any way to those publick spectacles and shows. He continued and enlarged the Priviledges of his Wrestlers; He would not suffer the Gladiators to fight, till dismission was promis'd to the Conqueror. The Coercive power which the Magistrates had exercis'd in all places and ages over the Players by virtue of an old Law, he restrain'd, and would not permit them to exercise it but upon the Stage only, H 4

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and that during the time of the Plays. Nevertheless he was a fevere exacter of order amongst his Champions, and so just a reprehender of Licentiousness amongst his Stage-players, that having certain information that Stephano a Comedian was attended by a Woman, with her hair cut, and in the habit of a Boy, he ordered him to be whipt through the three Theatres, and banish'd him when they had done. Upon the complaint of the Prætor against Hylas a Mimick or Buffon, he caufed him to be whipt in his own Court-yard, and that the Gates should not be shut against any that had a mind to be a spectator of his Correction. Pylades also he banish'd out of Rome and Italy both, because he had pointed his finger at an Auditor which had hist him, and by that

means exposed him to the People.

46. Having by this manner provided for the Policy, and Regiment of the City, he repeopled Italy (which had been much exhausted by the Civil wars) with eight and twenty Colonies which he brought thither, and planted, and embellishing them with feveral magnificent Structures, and publick Revenues he equall'd them in some fort with the City of Rome in priviledges & esteem, by inventing new kind of suffrages, which the Decuriones or Aldermen of Colonies, were to take in their feveral Liberties, and to fend up fealed to Rome against the day of Election of the Magistrates there. And that there might be no defect of persons of honour in any part of his Dominions, he advanced all fuch into the order of Gentlemen, who at the publick folicitation of any Town whatfoever had defired to be lifted into the number of the To the Commons in his Visitations through all the Regions of Italy, if they made it appear to him they had Sons and Daughters, he order-

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The Life of Augustus Casar. 10

da thousand Sesterces a-piece, both to them and

their Children.

47. The most considerable Provinces which were neither easie nor safe to be governed by Annual Magistrates, he took upon himself; the rest he committed to Proconfuls by lot, fometimes he changed them, but most commonly of what kind soever they were, he visited them himself. Some of the Confederate Cities which by their too much licentiousness were running headlong to destruction, he deprived of their libertie: others opprest with their Debts, or subverted by Earthquakes, he relieved, and repaired; and if they were able to alledge any fervice they had done for the people of Rome, he gave them the priviledges of the Latines, or made them free of the City. There is scarce a Province belonging to the whole Empire, unless it be Africk and Sicily, but he visited in person, into which having chased Sextus Pompeius, and being desirous to have purfued him out of Sicily, and all things prepared in order to his Transportation, there arose fuch violent and continual Storms, as obstructed it that time, and afterwards he had no occasion.

48. The Kingdoms which he had conquered (excepting fome few)he either restored them to the same Princes from whom he had taken them, or else bestowed them upon some strangers: Those Kings which were in association with him, he joyned also in mutual obligations amongst themselves, as being alwayes a most industrious promoter, and favourer of Amity; and one, that looking upon all of them as parts and members of the Empire, had an equal care and concernment for them all. He was wont also to appoint Governours to such Princes as were young, or any way distemper'd in their minds, till they

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came to a competency of Age, or intelligence; and many times had them brought up and instructed a

mongsthis own Children.

49. Out of his Military force, he distributed his Legions, and Auxiliaries by Provinces. He kept one Fleet at Missinam for the security of the Tuskan Sea, and another at Ravenna, for defence of the Adriatick: He had his Guards also, being a certain number of Souldiers felected for the fafeguard of the City, and his Person: He having disbanded his Calagurritans, which he constantly kept in Arms about him till he had overcome Antonius, and his Germans likewife, who had the Guard of his Body to the time that Varius was defeated. Nevertheless he never fuffer'd more than three Cohorts at once in the City, and they without any intrenchments; the rest he usually disposed upon the Frontiers both in Winter and Summer: And left his Soldiers after they should be disbanded or discharged, might be excited to fedition by their age, or necessity, he assigned to every one of them a precise allowance as a reward according to the feveral times and qualities of their fervices; and that the provision for them might be easie and perpetual, he established a Treasury for the Army, and imposed new Tributes for their maintenance: For his more speedy advertisement of occurrences in his Provinces, he first of all laid certain young men of his Army upon all great Roads, who being on foot, and at no great distance, ran to one another like fo many foot Posts with the News. Afterwards he fet up a fort of flying Chariots, as judging them more Commodious in this respect, because besides that the Expedition, and arrival of Letters was greater this way, he had the advantage also of interrogating, and discoursing more particularly ticularly with the Messengers, if occasion required.

50. In his Patents, Letters, Writs, and all his dispatches, he made use at first of a Seal with the impression of a Sphinx, afterwards he had the image of Alexander the Great, and last of his own ingraven by the hand of Diascorides, with which his successors signed also for a considerable time: he was so punctual in the dating of his Letters, that he let down usually the very minute not of the day only, but the night wherein they were signed.

51. Of his Clemency and Moderation, there are many instances: He not only pardon'd and indemmifi'd feveral of his Adversaries, but fuffer'd them to continue in the principal offices of the City: And though Junius Novatus and Cassus Patavinus (perfons of the meaner fort of people) had greatly offended him; the first having publish'd a most defamatory Epistle against him in the name of young Agrippa, and the other declar'd boldly at a publick entertainment, That he neither wanted will, nor courage to destroy him; he contented himself to lay a moderate Fine upon the one, and a gentle Banishment upon the other: On a particular day of hearings Amiliu Alianus of Corduba being accus'd amongst other things, of speaking irreverently of Cafar, He in a pretended fury turn'd to the informer, and faid, I wish you could prove it with all my heart, if you did, I would make Elianus know I have a tongue as well as he, and could say twice as much of him; and refenting it no further, he never inquired into it afterwards. Tiberius also aggravating the said infolence in a Letter to him, and preffing him with more violence to the vindication of his honour, he return'd him this answer, Do not (my Tiberius) indulge the passion of your years, too much in this Case, nor

nor be too much concern'd; if there be a man found which speaks ill of me, we are happy enough if our Condi-

tion be such that he can do us no harm.

been confecrated even to Proconfuls, yet in none of his Provinces could he be brought to accept that honour, unless in the Common Name of Rome and himself, and in Rome he absolutely resused it. Nay his modesty went yet farther, and those Statues of Silver which had been set up for him, he caused to be melted down, and sold, and Tables of Gold bought with the Money, and dedicated to Apollo Palatinus. When the people not only offer'd, but press'd and importuned him to take the Dictatorship upon him, he fell down upon his knees, cast his Gown from his shoulders, uncover'd his Breast, and with all possible deprecation, desired to be excused.

53. He had alwayes fo great an aversion to the Title of Lord, that he look'd upon it as a reproach. As he was at a Comedy one day, these words were pronounc'd; O most Gentle and most Gracious Lord! which the people taking with an allusion as applicable to him applauded exceedingly: but he rebuk'd their flatteries forthwith by the signs of his hand and forehead, and the next day reproved them more particularly in a fevere Edict exhibited on purpofe, forbidding himself to be called Dominus either in jest or earnest, even by his own Children and Grandchildren, amongst whom also he prohibited those appellations. So great was his modely and goodness to his Subjects, that he very rarely entred, or departed from any City or Town, but in the Evening or in the night, on purpose to excuse their formalities and attendance. In his Confulship he went commonly on foot, out of his Confulship, in a close Chair . Chair or Sedan. He was fo affable, that he admitted the falutations of the meanest of the people, and received their Petitions with fuch alacrity and pleafantness, that 'tis reported he merrily reprehended. one that presented him his request something timoroully, by faying, That he had delivered his Petition to him, as he had been presenting something to an Elephant. On the dayes the Senate fate, he never faluted any of them but in the Senate, and then, as they were fitting he spake to them all by their several Names without the affistance of a Prompter, and at his departure he took his leave in the fame order. He performed mutual offices of Friendship and Kindness with feveral persons, assisting at all their Solemnities till he began to be in years, and was unable to endure the incommodities of a Crowd, as he found by experience upon one of the Sponfal dayes. Gallus Terrinius a Senator, being taken suddainly blind, and refolving to starve himself to death because he had no hopes of recovery, though his familiarity with him was but small, yet he went to him himself, and by the kindness and efficacy of his perswasions diverted him from those thoughts.

was interrupted by one who told him, He understood him not, and another that said He would contradict him if he were his Equal. As he was going out of the Council being offended with their tedious and impertinent altercations, he was stayed by some persons who told him; That the Senators ought to have their liberty whilst they were speaking of the Common Wealth. Autistius Labeo, at an Election (in which every Senator named his man) having elected M. Lepidus an Enemy to Augustus of old, and at that time in banishment, being ask'd by Augustus If he could find

no better a man than he? he replyed; every man had his own judgment, nor was this boldness, and conti-

macy revenged upon any of them.

Lampons which were thrown about the Court, and took so little care to refute them, that he did not so much as enquire into the Authors; only this order he made, That for the future, Cognizance should be taken of all such as under pretended names, exhibited Libels or Verses to the infamie and disparagement of any man; and having been himself provok'd by the sawcy and reslexive jests of some, he answer'd them by publishing a Remonstrance to the contrary; nevertheless when the Senate were about restraining the great liberty which was taken by Persons in their Wills, he opposed

himself against it.

46. As often as he was prefent at any affembly for the Election of Magistrates, he went about through his Tribes with the Candidates in his Company, recommending them to their choise in the usual manner. He gave his own fuffrage likewife in his Tribes, as he had been one of the people. When he appeared as a Witness in any Judicial Court, he fuffer'd Himself not only to be interrogated, but crost and contradicted in his depolitions: He was fo great an Enemy to violence, that he chose rather to build his Hall of Justice too narrow and strait, than to difpollefs his refractory Neighbours of their Proprieties. He never recommended his own Sons to the people, but with this condition; If they shall deserve. When they were Children, and in their Robes border'd with Purple, coming into a Play, the whole house rose up, and clapt their hands in demonstration of their respect, but Augustus took it so ill, he com-

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complained of it as an offence. How great and porent foever his Favourites were in Rome, he would not allow them more priviledge than the rest, nor by any means exempt them from the Judiciary Laws. Afprenas Nonius, his intimate Friend being accused for poysoning a Man, by Cassius Severus, and to make his defence, Augustus confulted the Senate how he was to comport himself in the Case; For faid he, if I appear for him, I shall perhaps wrest a Malefactor out of the hands of the Law, if I do not, I may be thought to have abandon'd my Friend, and Condemn'd him before his Judges. Upon the which he plac'd himfelf by advice of them all, in the lower Seats, where he fat still for feveral hours filently. without fo much as one word in his Commendation. though it was usual in such Cases. He appeared also as an Advocate for his Clients, amongst the rest he defended one of his old Souldiers in an action of the Case brought against him. Of all the Criminals and accused persons in his time, he rescued but one, whose name was Castricius, by whose means he had discover'd the Conspiracy of Murena, nor did he preserve him by any other way, than by his entreaties, with which he fo mollified the heart of his Accufer in the presence of the Judges, that he withdrew his Process, and desisted.

57. How grateful, and Amiable these qualities made him to the people, it is no hard matter to imagine. I omit the honours decreed him by the Senate, as things which may be supposed the effects either of sorce, or flattery; it is sufficient to say, that the Knights and Gentlemen of Rome, of their own proper motions, and by common consent, did annually Celebrate his Birth, with two whole dayes solemnity: And all the Orders of the City besides, cast lit-

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tle pieces of Money into Curtius his Lake, paying their Vows thereby for the prosperity of Augustus. On the Calends of January also, (though he was absent himself) they offered their New-years-gifts to him in the Capitol, with which moneys he bought his most stately Images of the Gods, and dedicated them in every quarter of the Town, as particularly the Statues of Apollo Sandaliarius, Jupiter Tragadus, and others. His Palace on Mount Palatine being burnt to the ground, the Souldiers, the Lawyers, the Tribes, and all forts of people whatever, contributed personally and voluntarily according to their abilities, to the building it again: But Augustus would not make use of half that they brought in. When he return'd out of any Province, he wasreceiv'd not only with acclamations and good wishes, but with Mulick and Songs; and one thing more was constantly observ'd, there was never any Execution on the day he entred into Rome.

8. By an univerfal and unexpected concurrence of all people, he had the Title given him of Father The Commons gave it him first in of his Countrey. an Embassie to Antium, but having refus'd it there, the multitude got together in great numbers, with Crowns of Laurel upon their heads, and faluted him with it again in Rome as he was going into the Theatre; after this the Senate did the same in their Court, not by decree, or acclamation, but by the mouth of Valerius Messala, who was commanded in the name of the whole Senate, to deliver himself to Augustus in these words: The Senate by unanimous consent, and the concurrence of the People of Rome, falutes you (Cæsar Augustus) with the Title of PATER PATRIE, wishing all sort of felicity both to you and your Family, and in doing so, they wish perpetual

perpetual felicity to the Commonwealth. To which he replyed, with tears in his eyes, in these words; (for I have set down both Messala's message, and his answer in terminis) Gentlemen I am now master of my wishes; what remains for me to implore of the Gods, but that I may continue in your affection and good

will to the end of my dayes?

59. As a further instance of their tenderness to his Person, by a voluntary contribution they erected a Statue of Brafs, and plac'd it by the Image of Æsculapius, in honour to Antonius Musa a Physician, by whole means he had recover'd of a most dangerous fit of sickness. Some Citizens there were who left it as a charge upon their Heirs in their Wills, that they should carry Victims into the Capitol, and Sacrifice them there, with a writing before them, declaring those Vows to be perform'd in gratitude to the Gods, for having graciously permitted them to leave Cafar Augustus behind them. Some Cities in Italy began their years on the day he came first amongst them: But most of the Pro-vinces, besides Altars and Temples erected to his memory, almost in every Town instituted Games and Playes, which they celebrated every five years to his honour.

every one in his own Kingdom, built a City and called it Cafaria; besides which, by common confent, and at the common charge, they agreed to finish the Temple of Jupiter Olympicus, begun of old at Athens, and to dedicate it to his Genius. Nay so great was their Reverence for him, that they left their Kingdoms many times to do him honour, and attended him as Clients in their long Robes, without any of their Ensigns of Regality, not only in

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Rome, but in his Visitations thorow his Pro-

or. Having represented him in his Magistracies, and publick Administrations both in Peace and War, I shall now relate his more familiar and private Conversation, his manners, conduct and fortune at home, from his minority to his death. He lost his Mother in his first Consulship; his Sister Octavia in the 54. year of his age; and having perform'd to them all the good offices of a Son, and Brother, whilst they were living, he did them all

possible honours when they were dead.

62. When he was but a Youth he was contracted to the Daughter of Servilius Isauricus, afterwards the first differences being compos'd betwixt him and Antonius, both Armies pressing them to an Union by some nearer Alliance, he took Claudia (the Daughter-in-law of Antonius, which his Wife Fulvia had had formerly by P. Clodius) to his Wife, though he was scarce Marriageable at that time; but new controversies arising betwixt him and his Mother-in-law Fulvia, he fent home her Daughter untouch'd and a Virgin as she came: Then he married Scribonia, the Widdow of two persons both of them of Confular dignity, and by one of them'a Mother; but being tired out (as he writes himself) with the perverseness of her humour, he turn'd her away, and being enamoured of Livia Drufilla, the Wife of Tiberius Nero, then with child, he took her from him by force, married her, and loved her entirely to the last.

63. By Scribenia he had Julia, by Livia nothing, though he did earnestly desire it; true it is, she was once with child, but miscarried. He married his Daughter Julia sirst to Marcellus the Son of his Sister

Octavia,

Octavia, when he was scarce got out of his Child-When he died, he married her again to M. Agrippa, by the confent of his Sifter, with whom he had prevailed to give him her Son-in-law, for Agrippa was at that time married to one of the Marcella Daughter to Octavia, and had children by her. He being dead also, he was a long time finding out a new Husband for his Daughter, amongst all the Knights and Gentlemen of Rome; at last having pitch'd upon Tiberius his Wifes, Son, he forc'd him to leave his old Wife (though he had had feveral children by her, and she was then with child.) M. Antonius Writes, That Augustus promis'd his Daughter Julia first to his Son Antonius, next to Cotis King of the Getæ, at which time he also was in Treaty

for the Kings Daughter.

64. By Agrippa and Julia he had three Grand-Sons, Caius, Lucius, and Agrippa, and two Grand-Daughters, Julia and Agrippina: Julia he married to L. Paulus the Cenfors Son, and Agrippina to . Germanicus his Sisters Grand-son. Having bought them of their Father Agrippa, he adopted Cains and Lucius into his own Fanily, and (though as then they were but young) he imploy'd them in publick affairs, designed them Consuls, and gave them the Command of Provinces and Armies. His daughter and her Children he brought up with that feverity, they were taught to Spin, and forbidden either to speak or do any thing but in publick, and what might be afterwards recorded in their memories. He prohibited all Strangers from having access to them also, whereupon he writ a Letter to L. Tucinius, a comely young Gentleman, to this purpose, That he had not done handsomely in going to Bayas to give his daughter a visit. He was his -Grand-

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Grandsons Tutor himself, and taught them not only to swim, but all the Rudiments of Learning; but his greatest endeavour was to make them write.

his Character, and imitate his hand.

64. He never eat but his Grandchildren were fitting at the lower end of the Bed; nor took a journey, but he had them either before him in a Chariot, or about him on Horfe-back: But though he promis'd himself much happiness from his Issue, and the gravity of their Education, his fortune deceiv'd him in all; For his Daughter Julia, and her Daughter, (having abandon'd themselves to all forts of infamy and wickedness) he was constrain'd to banish; in eighteen months time he lost Cains and Lucius, Caius dying in Lycia, Lucius at Marfelles: After which he adopted Agrippa, his third Grandfon, and Tiberius, his Wives Son, in a Publick Assembly of the people, by an Act of the Curia: But Agrippa proving of a fordid and furious disposition, he turned him off again in a short time, and confin'd him to Surrentum; taking the deaths of his Grandchildren with much more patience, than their debaucheries. The misfortunes of Cains and Lucius he endur'd with some moderation; but his Daughters dishonour went so near his heart, he could not forbear complaining of it to the Senate, though he were out of Town, in a Letter, which was read publickly by the Quafter or Chancellour. In this melancholy, he not only retir'd himself a long time from all conversation, but he had thoughts also sometimes of putting her to death; and understanding that Phabe (one of his Daughters Confidents) had hang'd her felf, he protested openly, That he hadrather have been Phoebe's Father, than Julia's. Having banish'd her, he forbad her the use of

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of Wine, and all forts of delicacy whatfoever, either in diet or cloths: He permitted no person of what condition foever to come near her, with-out his knowledge both of their age, stature, complexion, and the very private marks or fcars of their bodies. At length, after he had kept her five years confin'd in an Island, he removed her into the Continent, where she was treated with somewhat less severity than before; but he could never be perswaded to bring her back to Rome, as often and as carnestly as the people interceded, he stopping their mouths with this imprecation, I wish you had all such Daughters and Wives. The child which was born of his Grandchild Julia after she was condemned, he would neither own, nor bring up: Agrippa in Itead of becoming more tractable, growing every day wilder than other, he transported him also into an Island, clapt Guards upon him, and by a Decree of the Senate prevail'd to have him kept there for ever. As often as any mention was made of him, or the Juliaes, he was wont with a most profound figh to break out into this expression, Would to God I had lived without a Wife, or dyed without Children! Nor did he call them ordinarily by any other name, than his three biles or imposthumes. Of worth

when once contracted, it was constant and firm: He was not only an honourer of the deferts and virtues of his friends, but a patient endurer of their infirmities, if they did not exceed. For of all the number of his friends, there is scarce any to be found ill treated by him, unless it be Salvidienus Rufus, whom he had rais'd to the very Consulship, and Cornelius Gallus to the Government of Egypt,

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and both of them from mean and inconsiderable fortunes: Having discover'd Rufus designing new troubles, and endeavouring once more to involve the Commonwealth, he deliver'd him up to the Senate, to be condemned; and the other for his contumacy and ingratitude, he turn'd out of his Province, and forbad him his House; who being by the depositions of his accusers, and the decrees of the Senate, reduc'd into fo desperate condition that he made himself away, Anoustus was so sensible of their zeal, that he gave them thanks for the piety of their indignation, but complain'd of his misfortune withal, That he was the only person, which had not liberty to be angry with his friends to what degree he pleas'd himself. The rest of his Favourites, every one in his feveral order and degree, flourish'd in honour and riches to the end of their lives, yet not without some fits and intermissions of his displeasure. He was much troubled at the want of patience in Agrippa, and the want of refervedness and taciturnity in Marcellus; Agrippa having forfaken all, and retir'd in great melancholy to Mitilyne, upon a bare suspicion that Augustus look'd fowr upon him, and had more kindness for Marcellus; and Marcellus having discover'd the detection of Murana's Conspiracy to his Wife Terentia. He required Testimonies of the affection and benevolence of his friends, not only whilft they were living, but dead: For though he was not infected with Covetouiness at all, nor was ever known to make advantage of the Legacies of a friend, yet he had a strict and morose regard al-wayes to their last Wills and Testaments, conceiving much joy or difpleafure, according as they had express'd their esteem of him therein. If any Parents The Life of Augustus Cæsar. 119

Parents (which had Children alive) did at any time leave him a Legacy, or part of their Inheritance, he either return'd it immediately to their Children, or if they were too young to receive it, he kept it till they were of competent age, till the day they put on their virile Robes, or were married, and then deliver'd it with a confiderable addition of his own.

67. As to his Domesticks he was no less a severe than a gentle Master; he conferr'd very honourable imployments upon feveral of his Freemen, as upon Licinius Enceladus, and others: Cosmus a Servant of his having spoken very ill of him, he contented himself with having him clapt into Irons: He chose rather to jest and make sport with the timidity of Diomedes his Steward, than to impute it to any malicious defign, when walking with him alone, a Wild-Boar coming fuddenly upon them, Diomedes to secure himself, made bold to thrust his Master to the Boar; a business of no fmall danger and prefumption, yet being ex tempore and undefigned, he imputed it to his fear, and turned all into mirth: But Proculus (a freed perfon, and one of his Favourites) escap'd not so well, for having been accus'd and convict of Adultery with Ladies of Quality, he caus'd him to be put to death. Thallus (his Amanuenfis) discovering one of his Letters for 500 denarii, had his legs broke by his order. The Governour and other attendants of his Son Cains, having behaved themfelves infolently upon the report of his fickness and death, and committed many outrages in his Province, he caus'd them to have weights put about their necks, and to be thrown headlong into a River.

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68. In

68. In his youth he had variety of scandals which lay heavy upon him: Sex. Pampeius upbraided him with effeminacy; M. Antonius affirm'd publickly, that he had never been in that favour, nor adopted by his Uncle, had he not been his prostitute; And Lucius, the Brother of Marcus, spared not to divulge, that Cafar having deflowr'd him first, he fold the remainder of his modelty for three hundred thousand Sesterces, to A. Hirtius in Spain; and that he was wont to fcorch his legs with hot nuts, to make the hair come the fofter, and more delicate. The people also being assembled together at a Comedy or Stage-Play, not only interpreted to his dishonour, but by unanimous confent applauded an expression spoken of a Priest of (Cibele) the Mother of the Gods, playing upon his Timberel, as if it had been spoken of him: The words were these, and most of them ambiguous;

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Videsne ut Cinœdus orbem digito temperet?

See how this Catamite governs the Orb with one finger.

69. That he was given to Adultery, is a thing so clear, his very friends could not deny; all they could do was to mollifie and excuse it, by pretending that what he did was not out of Lust, but for certan reasons of State, his design being in insinuating with the Wives, to discover the plots and practices of their Husbands. M. Antonius (besides his precipitate marriage with Livia) reproach'd him for having taken the Wise of a person which had been Conful, out of the Diningtoom before his face, and carrying her into his Bed-Chamber,

Chamber, from whence after some time he brought her back again to the Banquet, with her ears all red, and her hair in diforder. For having put away Scribonia, because she resented the authority and reputation of one of his Concubines too much. For having imploy'd his friends to make bargains for him, to enquire him out Virgins, and Matrons, who were to be be stript, and expos'd naked to their view, as if Thoranius had fold them, who made it his Trade. Moreover, before he had declar'd himself his enemy, he writ to him merrily and familiarly in this manner: What is it hath alter'd you? is it that Ilye with a Queen? She is my Wife, and that can be no news, for I have been married this nine years: Let me ask you one Question; Do you lye with no body but Drusilla? May you be happy as certainly when you have read this Letter, as you have. kiss'd Tertulla, Terentilla, Rufilla, or Salvia Titiscenia, or all of them; for what matter where, or who is your Mistress?

70. There was a story also of a Supper he made privately for twelve of his friends, which was called the Supper of the Twelve Gods; in which the persons invited appear'd in the habits of Gods and Goddesses, himself representing Apollo: And with this he is charg'd not only by the Epistles of Antonius, in which the very names of the Guests are most invectively enumerated, but by these Verses also, better known than their

Author.

Cum primum istorum conduxit mensa choragum, Sexque deos vidit Mallia, sexque deas: Impia dum Phæbi Cæsar mendacia ludit, Dum nova divorum cænat adulteria:

Omnia

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Omnia se à terris tunc Numina declinarunt, Fugit & auratos Jupiter ipse Thronos.

When first the Habits' gainst this feast were hired,
And Mallia saw twice told six Deities,
Whilst Cæsar to Apollo's Part aspir'd
And to Re-ast their old Adulteries:
The Gods detesting such profane designes
Forsook the Earth, and Jove the Gilded shrines.

The noise of this Supper was much augmented by an accidental scarcity of provisions in the City at that time, in so much that the next morning it was cryed publickly up and down the Streets, That the Gods had devour'd all the Corn, That Cæsar was turn'd Apollo indeed, but it was Apollo Tortor, by which Title he was then worship'd in a certain place of the City. He was famous also for his immoderate desire of rich houshold-stuff, Corinthian Vessels, and being immoderately given to play: and in the time of his proscription, this sarcasme was writ under his Statue,

Pater Argentarius, ego Corinthiarius,

To deal in money was my Fathers Fate, And mine as much in rich Corinthian Plate.

Because it is supposed several persons were soisted into the number of the proscrib'd, for their Plate only. Afterwards during the Wars in Sicily this Epigram was made of him, and dispers'd,

Postquam bis classe victus naves perdidit, Aliquando ut vincat, ludit assiduè aleam.

After

After his Fleet at Sea, twice lost had been, He fell to play, that he might sometimes win.

71. But these Crimes, or Aspersions (as you please) he casily refuted, The scandal of Prostitution, by the continued chastity of his life; The malitious flander of coveting rich houshold-stuff, by his comportment at the taking of, Alexandria, where of all the Queens furniture, he detained only one Porcelan Cup, and melted down all the Golden Vessels, though never so useful. To Women indeed he was fomething addicted, and afterwards as is reported, to deflowring of Virgins, to which humour his Wife was fo indulgent, she fought him out Maids her felf where ever she could find them. The report of his playing at dice, concerned him not at all, he continued that custome till he was an old man, playing openly, and fairly, for his recreation, and no otherwise, not only in December, but upon other holy days, and working days as he This appears by a letter under his own hand. My Tiberius, (Says he) I Supp'd among st the persons you wot off, to which Vinicius, and Silvius the Father, added themselves; Betwixt the Courses we play'd, like old Gamesters both yesterday and to day. The Dice being thrown, as every man threw the chances Canis, or Senio, he deposited as many deniers as there were fpots, all which he that threw Venus carry'd away. And in another he writes; My dear Tiberius, we have past the Feast of Minerva, with pleasure enough, We play'd at Dice every day to some tune, Your Brother kept a mighty stir, and was very obstreperous, but at last be came off pretty well, having recovered himself strangely, and beyond expectation; I lost 20000 Sesterces out of my r urse, but my liberality augmented it, as it usually,

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usually does: had I not remitted what was lost to me, and kept what I gave away, I had been winner above 50000. But 'tis better as it is, For my bounty will exalt me to the Heavens themselves. And in a Letter to his Daughter thus, I have sent you two hundred and sity Deniers, the same sum I have given to the rest of my guests, That they may play during the Collation at Dice,

or any other game as they please.

72. The rest of his life was very continent, and virtuous, without the least suspicion of any wickedness at all. His first habitation was near the Forum Romanum above the Anulary stairs, in a house which formerly belonged to Calvus the Orator. Afterwards he lay indeed in the Palatium, but it was in a little house of Hortensius his, considerable neither in its capacity nor furniture; the Galleries being very short, the Pillars of a foft Albane Stone, and the Rooms of State quite without any Marble, or extraordinary pavement: For forty years together and more, he lay in one Chamber both Winter and Summer, though he found the air of the City did not agree with him in the Winter, yet he con-When he had tinued in the City all the Winter. any thing to do in private, and no mind to be interrupted, he retired to a private place a top on his house (which he called Syracuse, and Technophyon,) or else to some of the Houses of his Liberty a little way out of Town. But if he was fick, he lay constantly in the house of Macenas. Of all his houses of pleasure, he had most inclination to those which stood upon the Sea, as in the Isles of Campania, or else the Towns near Rome, as Lanuvium, Praneste, and Tibur, when headministred justice very often in the Portico of the Temple of Hercules. Large and Magnificent Palaces he affected not at all. That

That which his Grand-child Julia had built at a prodigious expence, he pull'd down to the ground. His own were but moderate, and not fo much beautified with Statues or Pictures, as accommodated with Cloisters and Groves, and sometimes with antiquities, and rarities, as the vast members of certain wild Beaits and Fishes found in the isles of Capra, which were of fo exceeding a dimension, they are reported to be the bones of Gyants, and the arms of the old Horoes in antient times.

73. Hisparlimony in the goods and furniture of his house is evident at this day by the Beds and Tables he left behind him, which for the most part are not rich enough for a private person of any virtue or curiofity. His own bed is reported to be low and mean, and but indifferently furnished. His cloaths were commonly home-fpun, and made either by his Wife, his Daughter or Grand-daughter. Robes were of an indifferent fize, neither too scanty nor large, and the studs neither too broad, nor too narrow. His shooes were something higher than ordinary, that he might appear taller than he was. In fhort his cloths and his shoes both lay alwaies ready in his Chamber, for him to put on upon any fudden and unexpected occasion.

74. He treated very often, always with fet feasts. to which none were invited but persons of Eminence either for their virtue or quality. Valerius Messala reports that never any of his Libertines were admitted to his Table, but Mena only, and that after he had given him his freedom for betraying Sextus Pompeins his Fleet. Yet he fays himself he invited a person in whose house he had lain formerly in the Country, who had been once of his Guards: He came to the Table himself sometimes very late, and left it sometimes as early; the Guess falling to many times before he came, and continuing at it after he was gone. His ordinary provision was but three dishes commonly, upon extraordinary occasion he exceeded to six: but the cost-liness of the dishes recommended not the Feast, so much as the familiarity and pleasantness of the Master. Being facetious himself, and a great lover of mirth, he would defire such as he saw whisper, to speak out, and let him participate of their converse. He had always Players, and Bussons, or else Astrologers, or such kind of people, out of the Circus, who sat at his Table, and many times Pedants and Pai adoxical Philosophers, to make him

fport.

75. His Festivals and Solemn days he celebrated most commonly with great profuseness, but sometimes with mirth only. At the Saturnalia, and when else he pleas'd, he distributed gifts amongst the people, fometimes Apparel, Gold, or Silver, otherwhiles Money of all impressions, as the Coins of antient Kings, and foreign pieces; at other times nothing but hair-Cloath, Sponges, Oven-poles, Pincers, and fuch kind of Trifles, with obscure and ambiguous inscriptions. He took delight also in making a kind of a Lottery (at his Entertainments) of feveral things of different value, and to fell Pictures by the backfide, that fo by the uncertainty of their fortune, he might make himfelf merry at the felicity or disappointment of the buyer; and that every one might have his part either of good luck or bad, he order'd the Lottery to be carried from one Bed to another, and every body to take his fortune.

76. I must not forget his Diet, which was usu-

ally but fmall, and very coarfe: He loved Houfbold Bread, little Fishes, new Cheese, green Figgs, and especially such as bear twice a year; and fed betwixt meals, where and at what time foever his stomach required. In one of his Epistles he writes thus; Whilft we were in our Chariot, we eat Bread and Dates. Again; In my Litter as I was passing from the Court to myown house, I made bold with about an ounce of Bread, and a few sharp Grapes. And in another; The Jew himself, my Tiberius, keeps not the Sabbath so strictly, as I have done this day, having eat only two mouthfulls of Bread in the Bath, and that at seven a clock at night, whilst they were preparing their sweet Oyntments for me. In this indifferency of Diet he supp'd alone many times, before or after the Feast, at which he was present still, though he eat nothing at the Table.

77. He was naturally no great friend to Wine; if we may believe Cornelius Nepos, he drank but three times at one Supper during the whole Leaguer before Modena: in his greatest exceedings he drank not above fix fextants; if he ventur'd farther, it was fure to come up again. He delighted most in the Rhatian Wine, but feldom drank any of it in the day time. To quench his thirst he took commonly a piece of bread foak'd in cold water, a piece of a Cucumber, the top of a Lettice, or elfe

a fresh Pearmain.

78. After dinner he took his repose for a while, in his Cloths and Shooes as he was, with his feet well cover'd, and his hand before his eyes. After Supper he withdrew into a little Closset or Study, where he remain'd till he had finish'd the remainder of that days journal, or at least the greatest part of it, which fometimes took him up a good part part of the night. From thence he went to Bed, where at most he slept but seven hours, and that not continually, but with three or four interruptions; if he could not sleep again, as it happened sometimes, he call'd for people to read by him, or entertain him with discourse till he fell into a slumber, which lasted perhaps till after break of day. He never lay awake in the dark, but he had one sitting by him, and was much discompos'd if he had not his sleep in the morning. If his affairs or devotions obliged him to wake sooner than ordinary, to avoid that inconvenience, he would repose himself in the next Chamber which belong'd to any of his Domesticks; and sometimes being sleepy in earnest, he would cause his Litter to be set

down, and take a nap in the streets.

79. He was of an excellent proportion, and continued handsome to the last; but so negligent and incurious in his drefs, that he made use of feveral Barbers at once in a huddle, having his Beard sometimes clipt, sometimes shav'd, and he either reading or writing all the time: Whilst he was either speaking, or filent, he had such a quietness and serenity in his countenance, that one of the great Lords of the Gauls confess'd amongst his friends, that that alone had mollified and diverted him from a resolution he had taken, to have thrown him down a precipice headlong, as he was passing the Alpes, being admitted to come near him upon pretence of private discourse. His eyes were clear and sparkling, and he had a mind it should be thought their vivacity had fomething divine in it, for he took much delight if in looking steadily upon any body, they put down their faces, as they would do at the brightness of the Son: But towards his latter

latter dayes he faw but little with his left eye. His teeth were thin, fmall, and rugged; his hair curled a little, and was fomewhat yellow; his eye-brows met upon his forehead; his ears finall, his nose high and long, his complexion between white and brown; his stature was but small, (yet Julius Marathus his freed-man writes, that he was five foot and nine inches high) but let his height be what it will, he was fo well proportioned in all his limbs, that unlefs one stood by him that was very tall, he could not be difcern'd to be low.

80. It is reported he had freckles on his body, disposed naturally upon his breast and his belly, into the figure, order and number of the Stars in the Celestial Bear; as also certain Callosities upon him, proceeding from the itching of his body, or from the violent and frequent use of the Strigil (or Curry-comb) which appear'd in his skin in the snape of a Tetter. His hip, and his thigh, and his left leg were not fo well, but he halted fometimes on that fide; but he recovered his strength again, by a fomentation of Sand and Reeds. He found fuch a weakness in the fore-finger of his right hand, that being crampt and contracted with cold, he could scarce make use of it to write, with the help of a Cramp-ring: He complain'd also of the Strangury, but the Gravel coming at length away with his Urine, he was eas'd of that torture.

81. He had feveral, and those very dangerous fits of sickness in his time, but especially after his Conquests in Cantabria, at which time his Liver being vitiated with defluxions, he was reduc'd into fo desperate a condition, that he was forc'd to enter into

into a doubtful and contrary course of Physick, to leave off the warm somentations which he had used before, and (by the advice of Antonius Musa) to betake himself to cold; which method, how contrary soever to the practice of those times, stopt his defluxion, and compleated the Cure. He was subject also to certain annual, and periodical distempers, which afflicted him at constant seasons. About his Birth-day he was taken always with a weakness; at the beginning of the Spring, with the Spleen; and with a stuffing cold, when the wind was in the South: by which means his body being weaken'd and shatter'd, he could scarce endure ex-

tremity either of heat or cold.

82. To defend himself against the sharpness of the Winter, he wore ordinarily a good thick Gown, four Coats, a Wastcoat, a Flannel Stomacher, with rollers about his legs and his thighs. In the Summer time he lay with his Chamber doors open, fometimes in a Peristylium, or Grotto, with his Waterworks about him, and one standing by on purpose to fan him. He could not endure so much as the Winter Sun, and never walk'd out when he was at home, but with a Bont-grace, or broad-brimm'd Hat hanging over his face. When he travell'd, he went generally in his Litter, in the night for the most part and that gently, and but small journeys, as making it two dayes sometimes to Praneste or Tibur: Nevertheless when he could go any whither by Sea, he feldom or never went by Land; but if his infirmity was great, his care and regard of himself was not small. Baths being not only improper, but hurtful for him, he refrain'd as much as possible; he was frequently anointed with fweet Oyls, fweated before the fire, and then wash'd

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wash'd with warm water, or water heated in the Sun. When for the strengthening of his Nerves he used either Sea-water, or the waters of Albula heated, he sat upon a wooden chair, which he call'd by a Spanish word Dureta, and contented himself only with stirring his hands and feet up and

down the water by turns.

83. As foon as his Civil Wars were over, he gave over the exercises of riding the great Horse, or managing his Arms in the Campus Martius, and betook himself to Tennis, or Hand-ball, in their stead. After that, it was not long before he gave over all exercise, but taking the air in a Litter, walking and skipping a little at the end of his Career, wrapt up in a Mussler, or linen Mantle. For the recreation of his mind, he would fish sometimes with an angle, sometimes play at Dice, Cockal, or with Nuts amongst the most amiable and witty children he could find, especially if they were Moors, or Syrians; but for such as were Dwarfs, or any way crooked or distorted, he look'd upon them as ominous, and the mockery of nature.

84. From his minority he apply'd himself with great industry to the learning of Eloquence, and other Liberal Arts. During the War of Modena, he is reported not to have pass'd one day in the midst of his most important assairs, without reading, writing, and declaiming: After that Expedition, he never made a Speech either to the People, the Senate, or Souldiers, but what was premeditated, and precompos'd, though he wanted not the faculty of speaking ex tempore; and lest his memory should fail, and he spend too much time in getting them by heart, he read to them what-

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ever he had to fay: His private discourses with his friends, nay even with Livia his wife, if about any serious matter, he put down in writing, lest he should speak more or less than was convenient on a sudden. His accent was sweet, and whatever he pronounc'd was with a very good grace, of which he was so curious, he kept a Master on purpose to teach him the management of his voice: But when he was troubled with a hoarseness, or fore throat, the publick Cryer read his speech to the people in his stead.

85. He compos'd feveral things in Profe, upon feveral subjects, of which he read some in a meeting of his familiar friends, as it had been in an Auditory; amongst the rest, his answer to Brutus upon Cato: Having read a good part of those Volums himself, being old and weary, he gave them to Tiberius to recite the remainder. He writ also Certain Exhortations to Philosophy, and a short History of his Life in thirteen Books, as far as his Cantabrian War, and no farther. Poetry he medled with but superficially; yet that he was not altogether ignorant in that also, appears by a Book written by him in Hexameter Verse, whose Title is Sicilia, and is yet extant; and another little Collection of Epigrams, which for the greatest part he compos'd in his Baths. Having begun a Tragedy with great ardour, and finding his stile not like to hold out at that rate, he expung'd what he had written already; and being ask'd by his friends what was become of Ajax, (who was the subject of that Play) he reply'd, That Ajax had made himself away with a Sponge.

86. He observ'd always a very elegant and temperate way in his speeches, shunning imperti-

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nence and inconcinnity in his fentences, and as he call'd it himself, the fator or noisomness of hard and obsolete words: his principal care being only to express himself intelligibly and succinctly; and that he might not detain or confound the intention of his reader or hearer, he added Prepolitions to his Verbs, and reiterated his Conjunctions many times, which being taken away do indeed contribute grace and ornament to a discourse, but with some kind of obscurity. Those which delighted in new words, and those which affected old, being contemptible in both kinds, he equally despised. He derided feveral, and especially his friend Macenas, for his Murobrecheis Cincinnos, or perfum'd Curles, as he calls them, perfecuting him continually for the affectation of his language, and imitating him fometimes to make himself sport. Tiberius also had his reprehension for his obscure and antiquated phrases, and M. Antonius he esteem'd as a mad man, for writing what men might admire, but hardly understand. Afterwards drolling upon the irresolute and indifcreet election of his stile, he adds these words; And are you still to resolve whether Cimber Annius and Veranius Flaccus are to be imitated by you, that so you may make use of the words which Crifpus Salustius selected out of Cato's Origines? or rather the Asiatick Orators, transferring their affectation and verbosity into our language and discourse. And in one of his Epistles, commending the parts and ingenie of his Grandchild Agrippina, But be sure (sayes he) you neither write nor speak any thing that may be in a troublesome and ingrateful file.

87. It is remarkable by letters under his own hand, that in his ordinary Conversation, he had K 3 particular

particular ways of expressing himself, which he frequently used, as when he would signifie that such a man would never pay his debts, he would fay, he would pay them, ad Gracas Kalendas. exhorted any one to be content, and acquiesce in his present condition, whatever it was, he cry'd Come let us be content with this Cato. To intimate the dexterity and expedition wherewith a thing was done, he would fay, It was done before Afparagus could be boyled. He was us'd also continually to put one word for another, as Baceolus for Stultus, Pulleiaceius for Pullux, for Ceritus, Vacerrosus, for male fe habere, Vappide se habere, for Languere, Betizare, which is commonly exprest by Lachanissare, Simus alfo for Sumus, Domos in the Genitive Cafefingular, for Domus. Nor did he ever use these two words otherwise, lest it should be interpreted by any one a fault rather than a custome. One thing I find in his Manuscripts very often, that he parted not his words, and if one line was too short for a whole word, he brought not the redundant Letters to the next, but fet them down underneath in a kind of a Parenthesis.

88. Orthography, that is the form and Method of writing which was taught by the Grammarians, he did not observe exactly, but seemed rather of their judgment who were of opinion, That they were to write as they spoke: For as to the frequent transposition, and omission, not only of Letters and Syllables, it is not his fault alone, but a common Error among men: Neither should I have taken notice of it, had I not been astonished at what is reported by some people, That a Consuls Lieutenant for but failing in his Orthography, and writing ixi for ipsi, was looked upon by him as an ignorant and illiterate fellow.

fellow, and another put in his place. When he had a mind to write any thing privately and in Ciphers, his way was to put B. for A. C. for B. and so forward thorough the whole Alphabet, till he came to

Z. for which he put a double a a.

80. Nor was he lefs studious and delighted in the Grecian learning, in which he arrived at no small perfection by the industry of Apollodorus of Pergamus, whom he carried along with him from Rome to Apollonia, though he was but a youth, and Apollodorus an old man. Afterwards being repleat with humanity, and the various erudition of Spharus, he entred into an intimate familiarity with Areus the Philosopher, and his two Sons Dionysius and Nicanor; though fo as he neither spake Greek very readily, nor durst venture to compose any thing in it. If occasion required at any time, he writ down what he had a mind to in Latin, and then gave it to another to convert into that language: As he was not unskilful in Poetry, fo he took great delight in the old way of Comedies, which he frequently exhibited in the publick Assemblies. In all the Authorswhich he read in both languages, his principal observation was what precepts and Examples he might collect for the publick, or private instruction of his subjects and friends; when he thought any of them proper, he took them out word by word, and would fend them either to his Domesticks, the Governours of his Provinces, or Armies, or the Magistrates of the City, very commonly, as any of them wanted admonishment. Sometimes he went further, and read whole books to the Senate, and recommended them afterwards to his people by Proclamation, as the Orations of Q. Metellus, de prole angenda, and Rutilius de modo adificiorum, in which, his design was to convince K 4

tations.

convince them that he was not the first that propos'd either of them, but that their Forefathers had the same inclinations. To the Wits, and Virtuosi of his time, he gave great encouragement, attending with great courtesse and patience at several of their Recitations, not only of Poetry, and History, but of Orations and Dialogues. But if any thing were written of himself, (though in his praise) unless seriously, and by a Master, he would be very much offended; and gave the Prætors in particular charge, that they should not suffer his Name to be made common in their ordinary Reci-

go. He is reported to have been full of Religious fuperstition and scruple; he was so pusillanimously askaid of Thunder and Lightning, that he carried a Seals-skin always about him to secure him: and having been frighted with that slash he escap'd so narrowly upon the road, (as we have mentioned before) upon the least foresight or apprehension of any Tempest extraordinary, he run immediately into a Cellar of Vault under ground for protection.

ther his own, or other peoples, referring to himself: At the Battle of Philippi, he resolved once not to go out of his Tent, by reason of an indisposition upon him at that time: nevertheless being advertised of the Dream of one of his friends, he went forth, and (asit proved) very luckily; For his Camp being taken by the Enemy, they fell upon his Litter by accident, and imagining him in it, they run their Swords into it, and mangled it to pieces. All the Spring long he was subject to very terrible Visions, but they were but vain, and imaginary; at other times

times of the year he was troubled with them too, but they were neither so many, nor so impertinent. Being very frequently at a Temple in the Capitol which was dedicated to Jupiter the Thunderer, he dreamt that Jupiter Capitolinus made complaint to him, that his Worshippers were taken away, and that he had answer'd him, That he had plac'd Jupiter Tonans in that place as his Porter, and afterwards caus'd Bells to be hung about the top of the house, that it might the more naturally resemble a Porters-lodge. Instigated another time by a nocturnal apparition, he begg'd upon a certain day every year, some benevolence or other from the people, and would put forth his own hand to receive their

fingle money.

92. He took great notice of the flight or chattering of Birds, and look'd upon them as infallible. presages. If in the morning his Shooes were given him wrong, or the right foot Shooe was presented to him for the left, he counted it ominous. If it rain'd or mizled as he was taking a journey either by Land or by Sea, he was pleas'd, and reckon'd it a fign of a speedy and prosperous return: But nothing affected him so much as Prodigies. Observing a Date-tree to spring up betwixt the stones before his door, he transplanted it into the place where his Houshold-gods stood, and took great care to have it grow there. Being in the Island Caprea, he was fo transported to see an old Elm, whose branches hung down to the ground, and were almost dead, revive at his arrival, that he made an exchange with the Republick of Naples, and gave them Enaria for that Island. Besides this, he held some days for unfortunate; he would never begin a journey the next day after the Nundina, nor undertake any bufinefs

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business of consequence upon the Nones of a month; for no other reason, (as he writ to Tiberius) but to avoid the unluckiness or ill omen of the name.

93. As to the Religious Ceremonies of Foreign Countries, he had a great veneration for fuch as were antient and of authority, and as much contempt for the rest; for having been initiated at Athens, (in the mysteries of Ceres) and sitting afterwards in Rome upon his Tribunal, to hear fome things argued relating to the Priviledges of the Priests of that Goddess, observing secret and nice points to be started, he dismis'd the Assembly, and heard the business discuss'd before himself in private. But in his Voyage into Egypt he was not fo precise, for he would not go out of his way, though but a little, to make a visit to the God Apis; and commended his Son Cains another time, for that he had pass'd through Judea, and not paid his devotions in the Temple at Ferufalem.

94. And because we have proceeded thus far, it will not be impertinent if we add in this place such remarkable accidents as followed or preceded his Birth, and such as fell out upon the very day he came into the World, which were as so many presages of his suture Grandeur, and selicity. At Velitris part of the Town-wall having been beaten down by Lightning, it was answered by the Oracle, That a Citizen of that Town should one day have the Empire of the whole World; upon considence of which Prophecie, the Velitrines made War immediately upon the Romans, and renew'd it several times afterwards, but with so much missortune, they were almost destroy'd: At last they were convinc'd, (but well near too late) that it portended nothing

nothing but the Dominion of Augustus. Julius Marathus reporteth, that a few months before Augustus was born, there happen'd a Prodigy at Rome, by which the Romans were publickly advertised, That nature was producing a King for the people of Rome; with which the Senate was so alarm'd, they made a Decree, That no Man-child should be brought up that year. But those who had their Wives big at that time, (that they might every one appropriate the hopes to himfelf) took fuch order that that Act was never recorded in the Ararium, or City Chamber. It is related also in the Books of Asclepiades the Mendesian, entituled Theologoumenon, That Atia the Mother of Augustus being come at Midnight to the folemn fervice of Apollo, and having plac'd her Litter in the Temple, she fell asleep amongst the rest of the Ladies, when on a fudden a Serpent came crawling to her, and in a short time went away again, without doing her any harm; wherewith she awak'd, and purified her felf, as if she had lain with her Husband: But that which is most admirable is, that at the same instant she found a mark upon her body, in the figure of a Serpent, which she could never get off; upon which score she never appear'd afterwards in any publick Bath. The fame Author affirms also, That Cafar being born the tenth month after, he was generally reputed the Son of Apollo. The faid Atia dreamt also before she was brought to bed, that her Entrails were elevated to the Stars, and extended over the whole Circumference, both of the Heaven, and Earth. His Father Octavius dreamt likewise, that a beam of the Sun came out of his Wives belly, when it arose in the morning. The day he was born, the Senate being assembled to deliberate

deliberate about Catilines Conspiracy, and Octavius coming in late by reason that his Wife was deliver'd, it is well known P. Nigidius being told the cause of his absence, and inform'd himself of the hour of his birth, he cry'd out openly, That the Lord of the whole World was then born. A while afterwards, Octavius conducting an Army through Thrace, and having the curiofity to confult the Priests, (in the Grove consecrated to Liber Pater) according to their barbarous Ceremonies, about the destiny of his Son, he receiv'd the same answer again; for having sprinkled their Wine upon the Altar, there brake forth fuch a flame, as not only furmounted the top of the Temple, but feem'd to run up even to the Heaven it felf: A prodigy that never happen'd to any but Alexander the Great, as he was Sacrificing once at the fame Altars, The next night he fancied he faw his Son, of a greater statue and proportion than was usual amongst men, with a Thunderbolt, a Scepter, all the Ornaments of Jupiter, in a Chariot adorned with Laurel, drawn by twelve horses of extraordinary whiteness, and a wreath of rayes about his head in the fashion of a Crown. Cains Drusus writes, that his Nurse having left him one night below in the Cradle, he was not to be found the next morning; and that after long fearch, she found him at length upon a very high Tower, with his face towards the East. He scarce began to speak, when being at a Countrey-house of his Fathers, and offended with the noise of the Frogs, he commanded them to be filent; and from that time, as it is reported, they never croak'd more. Another day as he was at Dinner in a Wood in the road to Campania, about four miles from Rome, an Eagle made

made a stoop on a sudden, and took the bread out of his hand; which having carried up almost as high as the Clouds, she came down again gently by degrees, and most reverently restored it. After the dedication of the Capitol, Q. Catulus dream'd two nights together; The first night he imagined he faw feveral young Children of the best families in Rome playing about the Altar, and that Jupiter took one of them apart, and put the Signet of the Republick (which he had then in his hand)into his bosome; The next night he dream'd he faw the fame child in Jupiters arms, and having commanded him to be taken away, he was rebuk'd by the faid God, and given to understand, that that child should be brought up for the defence of the Common-wealth; and meeting with Augustus next day, though he had never feen him before, he beheld him with admiration, and protested that nothing could be more like the Lad he had dream'd on: Some there are which report his first dream after another manner; as if feveral of the Noble-mens fons having petitioned him for a Tutor, Jupiter shew'd them one amongst themselves, to whom they should direct all their defires, and that having stroaked the Boy gently over the mouth with his hand, he kifs'd it himself when he had done: Cicero also had his Dream which he told to his Friends as he was following Cafar into the Capitol; it was, That he faw a little Boy of a most incomparable feature, let down from Heaven by a Golden Chain, and standing before the doors of the Capitol, Jupiter put a whip into his hands: Suddenly after having feen Augustus (unknown at that time to most people) whom his Unkle Cafar had called to the Sacrifice, he declared that was the Boy whose Image he had feen feen in his Dream. As he was putting on his Virile Robe, his purple Gown being unbuttoned on both fides, it fell down to his feet, which was look'd upon as a prefage, That the order of the Senators of which that was a badge, should one day be in subjection to him. Julius Cafar as he was cutting down a Wood near Munda (where he then was incamp'd) found a Date-Tree by accident amongst the rest, which he ordered to be kept carefully, as a prefage of fuccefs. Not long after there put fortha young shoot, which in few days increas'd so much that it not only outgrew, but overgrew its stock, spreading abroad its branches in fuch manner, that the Pigeons built frequently upon them, though that fort of Bird avoids fuch kind of leaves as are hard and sharp; by that prodigy (as is reported) Cafar was induc'd to make his Sifters Grand-fon his Successor, and no other. In his retirement to Apollomias going with Agrippa upon a time to give a visit to Theogenes an Astrologer, Agrippa having asked the first questions about his fortune, and received great and incredible predictions, Augustus was a long time before he would tell him his Nativity, for shame, or fear lest his Horoscope should not afford him as good tidings: But after much importunity, having discovered it at last, Theogenes leapt up with joy, and then falling down at his feet, gave him all possible adoration. Upon which Augustus conceived fo great an opinion of his Destiny, that he publish'd the Configuration, and stamp'd Money with the mark of Capricorn, under which constellation he was born.

95. After Cafar was murdred, and Augustus returned from Apollonia, as he was making his entry into the City, on a sudden the sky being clear and

ferene,

ferene, there appeared a Circle in the fashion of a Rain-bow which encompass'd the Sun; and presently after the Tomb of Julia, Casars Daughter, was demolish'd by lightning. After this as he was attending his Augurie in his first Consulship, twelve Vultures appear'd to him, as they did formerly to Romulus; and the livers of all the Sacrifices were found to be replicate, and doubled inward, which all persons experienc'd in that Art, interpreted a token of extraordinary Grandeur and Prosperity.

o6. He commenc'd no War, nor fought any Battle, but he forefaw the event by fome Omen or other. The Troops of the Triumviri having their Rendezvouz at Bolonia, an Eagle came and fat upon his Tent, which being infested on both sides with two Ravens, she was too hard for them both, and beat them down to the Ground: This being taken notice of by the whole Army, was look'd upon as a prefage of the diffention which enfued betwixt him and his Colleagues, and the advantage that accrued to him thereby. At Philippi a certain Thef-Salian gave him assurance of his Victory, from D. Cefar who had appeared to him in his own image as he was travelling in a by-way. As he was facrificing at Perusia another time, but without any favourable or propitious fign, and thererefore demanded more Victimes to pacifie the Gods, the Enemy made a fally and carry'd away the whole preparation for the Sacrifice: whereupon the Divines being confulted, it was concluded, that all the mischiefs denounc'd and threatned by that Sacrifice, would inevitably fall upon them that had the entrails, and it hapned accordingly. The day before his Sea-fight near Sicily, as he was walking upon the shore, a fish leapt out of the Sea, and threw it felf at his feet.

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At Actium as he was preparing to fight, he met an As-Keeper called Eutichus, driving an As called Nicon: After the Victory he commanded the Statues both of the Man and the As to be made of brass, and set up in a Temple he built upon the ground

where his Army was incamp'd.

97. Neither was his death (of which I shall speak hereafter) or Apotheosis foretold with sewer Prodigies. As he was mustring in the Campus Martins according as they were accustomed every five Years, in the fight of a vast multitude of People, an Eagle flew feveral times about him, and at last flying to a stone hard by, she took stand upon the first Letter of Agrippa; which when he perceived, he commanded his Colleague Tiberius to make those vows, which according to custome were made, till the next Lufrum; For though the Tables and writings were all ready, yet he declared he would not undertake any thing which he could not perform. About the fame time a flash of lightning falling upon one of his Statues, carried away the first letter of his name; upon which having interrogated his Southfayers, he was told he' should live but a hundred days, which was imply'd in the Letter C. and that afterwards he should be translated amongst the Gods, because Afar, which was the remainder of Cafar, in the Tuscane language signified a God. Upon which he fent Tiberius into Illyricum, and was about to have accompanyed him as far as Beneventum, but being detained and interrupted by the importunities of feveral persons, impatient to have their Causes sufpended, he cryed out (and it was afterwards reckon'd as an Omen) That if every thing stop'd him, be would be no more at Rome. Having begun his journey, he came to Asturia, from whence in the night night (which was contrary to his custome) he took the opportunity of a gentle wind, and was

transported in a short time.

98. The diftemper that kill'd him was caused by a Flux; during his indisposition, he coasted about Campania, and the neighbouring Isles: after which he pass'd four whole dayes at Capres, in great affability and quiet. A while afterwards, as he was passing the Gulf of Puteoli, a Vessel from Alexandria being newly arriv'd, the Seamen and Paffengers being all in white, and crown'd with Garlands, offer'd incense to him with great Elogies, and wish'd him all prosperity, as the person To whom they ow'd their Lives, their Trade, their Liberties, and the enjoyment of whatever they had. These acclamations were fo grateful to him, that he distributed forty pieces of Gold amongst his Companions, obliging each of them to imploy the faid fum, in buying the Merchandizes which came from Alexandria. The rest of his time he spent in giving fmall prefents, as Robes, and Mantles, with this condition, that the Romans should habit themselves ala Greque, and the Grecians like the Romans; and that the Romans should speak Greek. He took great delight likewise to see the young men (of which there were some yet remaining in Caprea) do their Exercises according to the discipline of the Antients. He gave them a Treat likewife, and was present at it himself, not only permitting, but commanding them to be merry and free, and according to their old liberty to fnatch away the meat and fruit from one another, and to behave themselves as they pleas'd: In short, he deny'd himself no manner of divertisement. And whereas a considerable part of his Retinue were retired into a plea-

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fant Island adjacent to Caprea, he called it Aprago polis, or Lubber-land, from the idleness of those which were gone thither. As likewise he called Masgabas, one of his Favourites, xrisms; as much as to fay, the Founder of that Island. This Mafga. bas being dead a year before, as he was looking out of his Dining-room he observ'd his Sepulchre frequented with great numbers of people, and many lights in their hands, and pronounc'd a verse in Greek which he made ex tempore, to this purpose; Methinks I fee the Founders Tomb on fire. Then turning to Thrasyllus a Companion of Tiberius, who was then at the Table over against him, and knew nothing of the matter, he ask'd him if he knew who was the Author of that verse; to which he giving no ready answer, he added another, Seeft thon Masgabas honoured with lights, and demanded his opinion thereupon; and the other replying, that the Verses were good whoever compos'd them, he fell a laughing, and was in a good humour all the day after. A while after he cross'd over to Naples, and though his difease was upon him at that time, yet he was a diligent Spectator of the Quinquennial Games, which were instituted in his honour; from whence he departed with his Companion Tiberius to the place he designed: But as he was returning, his diftemper increasing, he was forc'd to stay at Nola, where calling back Tiberiss from his voyage, he spent a long time in private with him, and never after that concern'd himself in any State affair.

op. The last day of his life, he enquired several times if there was as yet no tumult about him; and having called for a Glass, he commanded them to put his hair in order, and to correct the sinking of

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his cheeks; then calling his Friends into the Chamber to him, he demanded of them, What they thought of him, and whether he had not acted his part well, in the Farce of his life : Adding this expression thereto, Then if all be well, when I am dead and gone, clap your hands, and give me your applause with joy. After this he took his leave of all the people, and difmifs'd them: Then demanding what news of a Daughter of Drusus's which was sick at that time, he turn'd himself about to Livia, and kissing her, he expir'd with these words in his mouth; Livia adieu, remember our Marriage whilst thou livest, and farewell. And in this manner he died, as he had alwayes defired; for as often as it was told him, that any one died fuddenly, and without any torment, he wish'd the same Euthanasian (for that was his usual word) to himself, and his friends. There was one fign of a delirium and distractedness of mind, and that was a little before his death, when upon a fudden ftart as in a fright, he complain'd, He was carrying away by forty young men; and that was rather a prefage, than any weakness of brain, for so many were there of the Pretorian band which carried him publickly before the people when he was dead.

Father Octavius died, when the two Sextuses, Pompeius and Apuleius, were Consuls, on the 17th. of August, about nine a clock in the morning, 76 years of age wanting but 35 dayes. The Decuriones of the Municipal Towns and Colonies, convey'd his body from Nola to Bovilla, marching solemnly by night, (by reason of the heat of the weather) reposing it in the day time in the chief Palace or Temple of every Town they went through. From Bovilla it was conducted by the

Equestrian Order to Rome, and plac'd in the Portico of his own house. The expressions of the Senate · were fo great both in honouring his memory, and adorning his Funeral, that amongst other tokens of their zeal, fome advis'd that his Funeral Pomp might pass through the Triumphal Gate, with the image of Victoria (which is in the Council-Chamber) carried before it, the principal Noblemens children of both fexes finging his Dirges as they went along. Others were of opinion, they should leave off their Gold, and put on rings of Iron on that day. Others, that his bones should be gather'd together by the Priests of the highest Societies. One there was propos'd to have the name of the month August, to be chang'd into September, because Augustus was born in one, and died in the other. Another moved, that the space of time betwixt his Birth and his Funeral, might be called Seculum Augustum, and so entred in the Kalendar. But it being thought best to moderate his honours. Tiberius and his Son Drusus gave him each of them a Funeral Oration; Tiberius, before the Temple of D. Julius, and Drusus before the Rostra: after which his body was carried upon Senators shoulders into the Campus Martius, and burnt. Nor wanted there a person of Quality, who had been a Pretorian, to fwear that he faw his Image afcend into the Heavens. The Reliques of his bones and ashes, were gather'd together by the chief of the Equestrian Order, in their Tunicks ungirt, and barefoot, which they buried afterwards in a stately Monument or Mansoleum, which he had built betwixt the Via Flaminia and the banks of Tiber in his fixth Confulship, and given the adjacent Walks and Woods to the people. 101. The

101. The third day before the Nones of April, a year and four months before his decease, in the Confulship of L. Plancus and C. Silius, he had made his Will in two parts, written partly with his own hand, and partly under the hands of Polybins and Hilarion, two of his Freemen; and having deposited it in the custody of the Vestal Virgini, they produc'd it with three other Volumes feal'd up in the same manner, which were all open'd and publickly read in the Senate. His first Heirs were Tiberius of two thirds, and Livia of the other, with authority to bear his Name. His fecond Heirs were Drusus the Son of Tiberius of one third, and Germanicus with his three Sons of the rest. In the third degree he nominated his Kindred, and feveral of his Friends. To the people of Rome he left a Legacy of 40000000 Sesterces, to the Tribes about three millions and a half of Sesterces, to every Souldier of his Guard a thousand Sesterces, to the Companies of the City 500, to the Legionarie Cohorts 300 apiece, which fum he commanded should be paid down, for he had fo much in Bank by him, reposited for that purpose. He gave several Legacies besides these, the greatest of them not exceeding 500 Crowns, for the payment of which he allowed a years time, excusing it from the smalness of his Estate, and protesting that there would remain to his Heirs not above 150 millions, though within the last twenty years he had receiv'd by way of Legacy from his friends 1400000000: All which vast fum, with the Patrimonies of two Fathers, and other Inheritances besides, he had imploy'd about the publick affairs of the Commonwealth. two Julia (when they should decease) he left an express Caveat they should not be buried in his L 3 Sepul-

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Sepulchre. The three Volumes contain'd, first his directions as to his Funeral; the second, an Index of all his actions, (which he desir'd might be engraven in Brass, and set up before the Mansoleum;) the third was, a true Breviate or State of the Empire, representing the establishment of his Souldiers in pay, the precise sums of money in the City Chamber, and his own Exchequer, with the arrears of the Tributes and Taxes, and a Catalogue of the Freemen and Slaves from whom they were to require an accompt.

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### TIBERIUS NERO CESAR,

THE THIRD

Emperour of ROME.

there was another Plebeian Family of them, inferiour to this neither in power nor dignity) had its original at Regillum a Town of the Sabines, from whence by the invitation of Titus Tatius Confort with Romulus, they came to Rome when it was but newly built, with a great

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great number of followers, or else (which is the more general opinion) they were brought thither by Atta Claudius chief of that house, some six years after the Kings were expelled, and received into the Number of the Patricians by the Senators, who affigned them a certain quantity of Land beyond the River Anien for their Clients, and under the Capitol a place of burial for themselves. In process of time this family was honoured with eight and twenty Confulats, five Dictatures, feven Cenfures, fix Triumphs, and two Orations. They were distinguish'd among themselves by several names and surnames for a while, but at last they renounc'd the name of Lucius quite, because two of that name were convicted, the one of Felony, the other of Murder; and pitch'd upon Nera for their Surname, which in the Sabine Language is as much as Valiant and Strong.

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2. As many of these Claudii have performed great Services, fo have others of them done as great Injuries to the Common-wealth. The Principal on both sides are these, Appius Cacus perswaded the people of Rome against all Alliance with Pyrrhus, as a thing that would not be for the advantage of the Common-wealth. Claudius Caudex being the first who past those Seas with a Fleet of Ships, beat the Carthaginians out of Sicily. Claudius Nero fell upon Asdrubal (as he was coming from Spain to reinforce his Brother Hannibal with a new Army) and defeated him. On the other side Claudius Appins the Regillian (one of the Decemviri imploy'd about framing and drawing up the Laws in writing) attempted by violence to enthral an ingenious Virgin to fatisfie his luft, which gave the People afecond occasion to revolt from the Senate. Claudius Drusus having

having his own Statue Erected with a Diadem upon his head, in a Town called Appii Forum he endeavour'd by the number of his friends and his followers to have usurp'd the Government of all Italy. Claudius D. Pulcher being in Sicily obferving the facred Pullets (provided for the Auspicia) would not eat, he commanded them in Contempt of all Religion to be thrown into the Sea, to fee (as he faid in mockery) whether they could drink no better than they did eat. After which he fought a Battle at Sea and was beaten, whereupon the Senate requiring him to nominate a Distator, as if he still neglected and despised the Calamities of the State, he named one of his most inferiour Servants. Nor are the examples of Women less various, for as much as from this family sprang the two Claudia, one of which disengag'd the Vessel which was stranded in the Tyber, and laden with the facred Images and Utenfils belonging to the Idean Mother of the Gods. to whom she made this Prayer publickly, That the Ship might follow her if the was a Virgin, and not otherwife: The other was arraign'd of high Treason before the people, and received an extraordinary fentence which never hapned to a Woman before. The Charge was, That passing thorow the streets in her Chariot, and being stopt by the multitudes of the people, she should wish That her Brother Pulcher was alive again, that by losing another Sea-fight, be might clear the streets of that throng, and make more room for their Coaches. It is well known moreover that amongst all the Claudis, P. Clodius was the only person which rang'd himself with the people, yet he fuffer'd himself to be adopted by a Commoner, and one that was younger than himfelf, for no other reason but for the Expulsion of Cicero out of Rome. The rest were alwaies Optimates, the principal assertors of the power and dignity of the Patricii, and against the people so violently contumacious, that if any of them was by accident accus'd of any Capital crime before the people, and to answer for their Lives, they could never be brought to alter their Gowns, or make the least application for mercy. Some of them were so audacious as to strike a Tribune of the Commons; and a Vestal Virgin of that name, whose Brother Triumph'd against the consent of the People, got up with him into his Chariot, and bare him Company to the very Capitol, that the Tribunes might have no right or pretence to ob-

struct him in his folemnity.

3. Tiberius Cafar was of this family both ways, by the Fathers side he descended from Tiberius Nero, by the Mothers from Appius Puicher, who were both of them the Sons of Appins Cacus. He was allied also to the Family of the Livii, by the adoption of his Mothers Grandfather, which Family though it was but Plebeian, was illustrated nevertheless with eight Confulships, two Censorships, and three Triumphs, honoured with a Dictatorship, and General of the Horse, and eminent by several brave persons which came out of it, amongst which Salinator and Drusus were the most venerable; Salinator branded all the Tribes with the Character of Lenity, for that they (though they had fin'd him confiderably before fince his first Confulship) had him Conful and Cenfor again, As for Drusus he killed one Drausus a General of the Enemies, hand to hand, and assumed his name when he had done, which was glorious both to himself and his posterity. Tis reported also that this Drusus in his Pro-Prætorship, recovered and brought back all the Gold which the (bu led gair in cady

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which had been given of old to the Senones when they belieged the Capitol, which was attributed (but falfly) to Camillus. His Great-Grandson, called Patron of the Senate for his singular service against the Gracehi, lest behind a Son, who being busie in contriving of new troubles, was surprized by the

adverse party and flain.

4. The Father of Tiberius, as he was Questor to C. Cafar, fo he was Admiral at Sea in the Alexandrine War, and contributed much to his Victory; in consideration of which service he was substituted Pontifex, in the room of Publius Scipio, and had the Command of the Colonies which were to be fent into France, of which Narbon and Arles were two. However when Cafar was flain, and all people apprehensive of new troubles, press'd hard for an Act of Oblivion, he outwent them all, and moved that they would rather take into confideration what rewards should be given to such Killers of Tyrants. When his Prætorship was expired, and towards the latter end of the year, the discord betwixt the Triumviri began to appear, he retained the Enfigns of his Office, beyond his just time, and following Lu. Antonius the Conful, Brother to the Triumvir as far as Perusia, though the rest surrender'd themselves and fell off, he could not be wrought upon to defert him, but was the only person continued with him to the last. From Perusia he escap'd first to Praneste, from thence to Naples; where having endeavoured to raise an Army of Servants by promising them liberty, but in vain; he was forc'd once more into Sicily: but being arrived there, it was not long before a new difgust fent him away again to M. Antonius to Achaia, for he was neither admitted into the presence of Sextus Pompeius as he expected, nor permitted to

have the rods carried before him as he ought. Being arrived at Achaia and Peace in a short time made amongst them all, he returned to Rome with M. Anthony, and although he had Children before by his Wife L. Drusilla and sne was again with Child at that time, he gave her nevertheless to Angustus who defired her for his Wife, not long after which, he dyed leaving his two Sons behind him, Tiberius and

Drusus, surnamed Nero's.

5. Some have been of opinion that Tiberius was born at Funda, upon a slight conjecture, because his Mothers Grandmother was a Fundane, and a while after the Image of Felicity was publickly set up there, by a Decree of the Senate. But the most, and most credible Authors assure us that he was born in Rome in the Palatine Mount, the sixteenth day before the Calends of December, M. Amilius Lepidus being again Consul with L. Munatius Plancus after the Wars at Philippi, as appears by the publick Acts and Records. Yet there are those who maintain that he was born the year before in the Consulship of Hirtius and Pansa, and others in the year following, Servilius Isauricus, and Antonius being Consuls.

6. His infancy was expos'd to much danger and incommodity, by reason of the persecution of his Parents, whom he alwayes accompanied, and sometimes with no little peril to them, for they having got privately into a boat to preserve themselves from their Enemies who had pursued them to Naples, he had like twice to have betray'd them by his cryes, once when he was taken from his Nurses breast, and the other out of his Mothers lap on a sudden by those who were constrained according to the necessity of that time to ease the good Women of

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their burthen. Having been carried with them round about Sicily and Achaia, They recommended him publickly to the Lacedemonians, because they were under the protection of the Claudii. As he was in his journey from thence in the night, he ran a great hazard of his life, for there came a fudden flame out of a wood which incompass'd the Company in such manner, that part of Livia's hair and habit was burnt by it. The presents which were given him in Sicily by Pompeia the Sifter of Sext. Pompeius, (as a short Coat and Buttons with Bosses of Gold) are still kept and to be seen at Baje at this day. After his return to Rome, he was adopted by the last Will and Testament of M. Gallius a Senator, but though he made bold with the Estate and Inheritance, he would not take upon him his Name, because he had been formerly of the party against Augustus. When he was but nine years old he made a Funeral Oration for his Father, publickly before the Rostra. In Angustus his Triumph after his Victory at Allium, though but a youth, he attended his Chariot riding. on horseback on the left side of it, as Marcellus the Son of Octavia did on another on the right. He Presided also in the Actiack Games, and commanded the Troop of young Noble-men in the Trojane Solemnities which were celebrated in the Circus.

7. From the time he first put on his Virile Robe, to the Commencement of his Empire, he behav'd himself for the most part as follows. He exhibited a Sword-play in Memory of his Father, and another of his Grandsather Drusus, but in several places and times; the first in the Forum, the other in the Amphitheatre, having by the promise of 100000 Sesterces engaged some of the Rudiarii, or persons

freed formerly and exempt from that profession, to maintain the Combat: Other divertisements he gave likewise to the people, though he was absent himfelf, all very Magnificent, and partly at the expence of his Mother and Father-in-law. His first Wife was Agrippina, the Daughter of Agrippa, and Grand-child of Cecilius Atticus a Roman Knight, to whom there are some Epistles from Cicera Still extant, by whom he had his Son Drusus; Yet though she was with Child again, and they lived in perfect amity and affection, he was constrained to leave her, and marry Julia the Daughter of Augustus, whose humour displeas'd him as much, as Agrippinas was agreeable; and the more, because in her first husbands time she had express'd so great a passion for him, that it was become the Common discourse. He had so great a regret for the loss of Agrippina, that having one day met her by accident, he could not restrain his Eyes from discovering his Commotion, infomuch that Order was given that he should see her no more. When he first marryed to Julia they lived happily together, but it leffen'd by degrees, and at last things came to that pass, they parted their beds, especially after the death of a Son which he had by her at Aquilea, who whilst he lived was a pledg, and obligation of kindness in them both. His Brother Drusus dying in Germany, he convey'd him to Rome, and march'd the whole journey on foot before the Corps.

8. His first pleadings were before Augustus, in defence of King Archelaus, the Trallians, and the Thessalians, in several Causes. He implored the relief of the Senate, in the behalf of the Laudicenes, Thyatirenes, and the inhabitants of Chio, who had suffer'd exceedingly by an Earthquake. He charged

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Fannius Capio with High Treason, for having como fpir'd against Augustus with Varo Muteray and caus'd him to be condemn'd. In the midit of thefed affairs he had two imployments, and acquitted himo felf of both very well; his first was, the purveyance of Corn, and other provisions, which at that time! were very fcarce; the other was, the infection and visitation of all the Work-houses, or Houses of Correction in Italy, whose Masters were grown infamous, for taking in Travellers and making them? work, and concealing fuch as were by their feard forc'd to fuch places for shelter, to avoid the Milian tary Oath, and being hated for Souldiers and W

o. The first time he bare Arms, was as a Military Tribune in the Wars of Cantabria: a while after he was made General of an Army, which he conducted into Armenia, restored the Kingdom to Tigranes, and ipon a Transal on purpose put the Crown upon his head. He recover'd the Enfigne. also which the Parthians had taken from Moor offus; after which he had the Government of Gallen Comata about a year, and fetled it inquiet, not with standing the differtions amongst the Princes, and the incursions of the Barbarians. After this he managed the Wars against the Rharians, the Vindelicians, the Pannonians and Germans, In his Rhe tian and Vindelick Wars, he fubdued the people upon the Alps; and the Breuci, and Dalmartans; in his Pannonick: and having transported 40000 men (which furrendred themselves to him in Gens many) into France, he affigned them habitations upon the banks of the Rhine, and fetled them there, As a recompence for fo many honourable exploits he entred into Rome both Ovant on Horse-back. and Triumphant in his Chariot; and as some people M conceive.

#### 1601 The Life of Tiberius Cefar.

Conseige, who had the honoun to have his Triumphal Omamonts after a new way, never given to any body before He was advanced to the Magistracies of the City very early, and ran through them all as its were without intermission, both Questorship, Pratorship, and Consulship. A while after he was made Consulsagain, and received the Office of Tri-

bune for five years together.

niow In the midft of fo many prosperities, in the flower of hisage, and in the perfection of his health, hetook a fancy on a fudden to retire, and to remove into fome remote place, out of all conversation: Whether this melancholy proceeded from the ill hander of his Wife, whom he neither durft accuse, mifs, is not certain to this day; or whether it was to make himself more considerable by his absence, and that he might be sought to by the people when they were in any dangerous exigence. Some are of opinion, that the Sons of Augustus being now grown up, he willingly refign'd the fecond place of the Empireto them, which he had follong usurp'd; in which he followed the example of M. Agrippa, who retired to Mitylene upon the promotion of M. Marcellus to publick imployment, dest his presence might give him any Ombrage, or obstruction: Which reason Tiberius alledg'd himself at last; but when he defired leave to go, he pretended nothing but that being tired with Honours, he might have liberty to retire : and so positive was his resolution, that neither the deprecations of his Mother, nor Father-in-law, who complain'd to the Senate of his deferting them, were able to alterit; and when they endeavour'd. to have detain'd him by force, he forbore his meat for four dayes: at last finding him inexpugnable, they

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The Life of Tiberius Cafar:

they permitted him to depart, which he did in such maste, that having left his Wife and his Child at Rome, he went to Offia immediately, not so much as speaking one word to those which attended him onwards in his way, or faluting but some few of

them when they took their leaves of him.

11. As he was coasting about Campania, news being brought him of Augustus his weakness and ndifpolition, it put a small stop to his advance: But rumour prevailing, as if his hopes of a revolution had stopt him, he put to Sea, though the weather was rough, and fail'd directly for Rhodes, beng taken with the pleasant and healthful Scituation of that place, when in his return from Armenia he out in there. He contented himself with a small House both in the Town and Countrey, and propoling a private life, he walk'd up and down without any Officer or Train, Vifiting the Academies fometimes, and conversing with the Greeks as familiarly as they had been his equals. As he was difpoling one morning of his buliness for all day, he happend to fay he would go fee all the fick people n the City; those that stood near mistaking his neaning, gave Orders forthwith, that all the difeafed perfons should be brought into a long Gallery, and placed there in order, according to the diversity of their distempers. This Order being executed, ne was much furprized with fo unexpected a fight; and not knowing on a fudden what he was to do after some little deliberation he went to them, assured them he was not Confcious of their coming thither, and defired to be excused to the meanest and most despicable of them all. During the whole time he was Tribune, he was observed to make use of his Fribunitial authority but once, and no more. Being constant M 2

#### 164 The Life of Tiberius Calar.

Constant and assiduous at the Schools, and publick Readings, there was one of the Orators fo faucy as to give him ill Language, for that as he conceived he inclined more to his Adversaries fide against whom he was pleading with great vehemence at that time: withdrawing himself therefore by degrees, he went home as privately as he could, and returning fuddenly with his Officers, he commanded him to be cited to appear by the publick Cryer, and Committed him to prison. A while after, he understood his Wife Julia was condemned for her incontinencies, and that Augustus by his own Authority had fent her a Bill of Divorce in his Name: Though the News was not unpleasing in it felf, yet he thought it but decent on his part, to intercede by feveral Letters to Augustus in the behalf of his daughter: and if he could not prevail for a perfect reconciliation, at least to implore that (however she had deserved of him) she might yet be permitted to enjoy whatever he had given her before. The time of his Tribuneship being expired, he declared, that he retired out of Rome upon no other grounds, but to prevent any emulation and jealousie that Lucius and Cains might conceive of him, and that now being fecured against that apprehension, and they old and capable enough of the second place in the Empire, he hid humbly entreat he might have liberty to fee; his relations again. But instead of obtaining his defire, he received a fmart answer, That having left them in fo much hafte and impatience, be was to lay aside all thoughts of his Parents for the future.

12. He continued therefore at Rhodes against his will, having with much adoby the solicitation of his Mother, prevail'd to be made Augustus his Lieute-

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nant in those parts, to cover his disgrace: and then he lived not only as a private man, but as an obnoxious and confcious person, hiding himself in the middle of the Island, to avoid the Complemental vifits of fuch as failed that way, and before that, were accustomed to pay him their respects; there being no body departing for Rome either to Command any Army, or to Exercise any Civil Magistra. cy in those parts, but they came on purpose to kiss his hands there. But his greatest affliction was, that having cross'd the Seas to Samos to make a visit to Cains his Wives Son, to whom Augustus had given the Government of the East, he found himself but very coldly received upon certain informations, which Lollins his Governour, and Comrade, had infinuated against him: he was suspected also of evil pra-Ctifes with certain Captains which he had preferred. who returning to the Camp according to their pafport, were supposed to be have been fent by him to found the affections of their Companions, and difpose them to new Commotions; of which when he was admonish'd by Angustus, be folicited very earneftly that he might have fome body appointed as a Watch, or Witness of his actions and words.

13. His usual Exercises of riding and fencing, heleft off about this time: and having laid afide the fashion of his own Countrey, he took up the Velt and Sandals according to the Greeks; which he wore for two years, making himself daily so odious and contemptible thereby, that the Nemansenses pull'd down his Statues; and at a feast, where Cairs and his friends were present, he being spoken of by accident, one of the Company stood up and promifed Cains, That if he would Command him, he would go immediately to Rhodes, and forch him the head of that Exile, (for so he was called then;) Upon this not only reasonable fear, but manifest danger, no wonder if he redoubled his Prayers (both by his Mother and himself) that he might have liberty to return; which he obtain'd at last, by the assistance of another accident, for Augustus having resolv'd to do nothing in that affair, without the Concurrence of Caius, it fortuned that at that time he was offended with Lollius, which was happy for Tiberius, for by that means he was more easily perswaded to give his Consent. He was call'd home therefore by the permission of Caius, but with provision that he

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should not interpose in any matter of state.

14. After he had been absent eight years, he return'd to Rome, with great and almost certain hopes of future advancement, as he had fancied from his infancy from feveral predictions, and prodigies. His Mother Livia being with Child of him, and endeavouring to inform her felf whether it should be a Boy or a Girl, having taken an Egge from under a fetting Hen, by keeping it sometimes in her own, and fometimes in the hands of her fervants, she kept it fo warm that at last a Cock Chicken was hatched, with a wonderful Comb upon its head. And when he was but an infant, Scribonius an Astrologer promis'd great things of him, and, That he should one day reign, but without the Ensignes of Royalty; for as yet the influence and authority of the Cafars was not known. As he entred likewise into his First expedition, and was marching with his Army thorow Macedonia into Syria, it fortun'd that the Altars which of old had been confecrated by the Victorious Legions near Philippi, brake out into a flame on a fudder, and gave a great light. A while after, as he . was going into Illyricum, he confulted the Oracle of Geryon

Gerven near Padoua, where drawing his let, it was answered, that in order to resolve his bedpounded Questions, he should throw a Golden Die into the Fountain of Aponius swhich having done; sthe I Die he threw in, appeared with the greatest number up permoft, and are to be feen under the water to this very day; not long before his retirm, an Eagle came and fat upon the top of his Houfegs which was a Bird never feen in Rhodes before. The day before he was affured of his return, as he was thanging his Clothes, his Shirt appear'd asuffit had been on fire. Thrafyllus also a Profesior in Astrology, rwhom as a great Maften heshad receiv of imp dis Houles and into his familiar Conversation odeserwing a shop making towards them at a greated that to, he affired him that Veffel broughthim good News tland it was well he faid true, forthis other aredifficus hawing not been answer'd as yet, by fuitable effects, here folv'd at that time as they were walking to gether on the shore, to have taken his opportunity and thrown him into the Seamassomes that waslariable Prophet. and without any knowledge of fortune events, infineated into a confidence of beingledquainted with his And though he was often press'd to cem in estapol

House in the street Carine, untout from the Cardens of Macronas, devoting himself wholly to quiet aid ease, performing the Offices of a private performing at all immatters of State. Cains and Encined ying within three years after, he was adopted by Augustus, together with Agrippas their Brother, but before Tiberius was adopted, he was obliged to adopt Germanicus his Brothers Son; M 4.

After his Adoption, he perform'd nothing as the Master of a Family, nor reserved any of those rights which he lost by his Adoption; For he neither gave any Donations, enfranchis'd any Servants, nor receiv'd any Legacy or Inheritance otherwise than as Peculium, and by the consent of his Father: from that time nothing was omitted that might contribute to his aggrandisement; especially after the exile and abdication of Agrippa, who was the only per-

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fon betwixt him and the Empire in to bound any 110 16:0 The Triblingtial dignity being conferr'd up on him the feebhd time for five years longer, he was fent to quaific the troubles in Germany: And the Barbian Ambrofadors had Orders as foon as they had had Andience of Angulary to repair forthwith to him in his Province : But having News of the defachish amillipring the removed from thence to manage that War, which, proved the most dangerous and a publisome of all the Forreign Wars, fince that with the Garrbagarians: His Army con-Afted of lifteenslaggions, and assmany Auxiliaries, which he communded three years together in con-Mantewtreminepfall things, but especially of Coin: And though he was often press'd to return, he would never give it oversas apprehending he should have had a neighbouring and spotent Enemy quickly and new film exert will a week with a week and we were and we well we were and we retreit, and interpreted, it a Highti And indeed he was well rewarded for his perseverance, for he reduc'd all the Country of allyricum which hies betwixt Italy, the Kingdom's of Noricum and Thrace, and betwirt the River Danubin and the Adriatick Sea. Dayon and when yet is agoba and

17. Nor was the defeat of Quin. Varus and his three Legions (which were cut in pieces about that time

ime in Germany) a small advantage and accumulaion of his Glory, no body doubting but the Victoious Germans would have joined with the Pannoniins, had not Illyricum been fubdued. For these noble exploits he had a Triumph decreed for him, besides everal other honours; some advised to have him call'd as his fur-name, Pannonicus, others to give nim the Epithete of Invincible, others of Pious. But Augustus opposed himself to all those Titles, assuring them that Tiberius would be content with what he would leave him at his death. As for his Triumph. ne put that off himself, the City of Rome being at hat time in great affliction for Varus his deteat. Nevertheless he made a publick Entry into the City n his Pratexta or imbroidred Robe of Purple, with a Chaplet of Lawrel upon his head: and a Tribunal being erected for him in the Campus Martins, and he Senate standing by, he went up into it, and plac'd himself (with Augustus) between the two Confuls, after which he faluted the people, and was honourably conducted round about the Temoles. Some as a sol

18. The next year being returned into Germany, and understanding that the loss of Quint. Varus and his Legions proceeded meerly from his own neglicence and temerity, he resolved to act nothing but by the advice of his Council, (He which before solved his own judgment alone, began now to Communicate with several persons in the management of his War.) His care from this time was greater than formerly. Being about to pass the Rhine, he stood himself upon the bank of the River, and having prescribed certain Rules and Directions for his provisions, he would not let any of them pass, till he had examined the load of every Waggon, lest any

any thing elfe should be carryed but what was necessary or allowed. On the other side the Rhine, his course of life was so moderate and incurious, that he dined many times upon the Ground without a Cloth, and slept whole nights without Tent or Pavillion. His Orders for the next day (or if any thing happened unexpectedly) he gave alwayes in little Tickets, with this admonition, that if they doubted of any thing they should apply themfelves to no person but himself for interpretation, to whom they might repair at all hours in the night.

18 10. He was a severe exactor of Military Discit pline; and to the end it might be the more punctually observ'd, he revived all the old and obsolete punishments and difgraces which were practifed in ancient times; in fo much as he disparaged a Lieutenant of a Legion, for having fent Souldiers with a Freeman of his, a hunting on the other fide of the River. Though he exposed himself but seldom to the hazzards of a Battle, yet he engaged with more confidence, if whilft he was watching in the night, the Candle fell down of it felf without any impulsion, and went out, it being an Omen (as he faid) which had been fortunate both to him and his predecessors, in all their Expeditions. Yet nevertheless one day, after his usual success, he had like to have been killed by a private man, who being observ'd about his Person with some terrour in his countenance, was feiz'd upon immediately, and confess'd the whole design being put upon the

20. Two years after, being return'd out of Germany to Rome, he made his Triumph, which he had put off till then, attended by the Lieutenants for whom

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whom he had obtained the Triumphal Ornaments: Before he entred into the Capitol, he descended from his Chariot, and threw himself at Augustus his feet, who sat then as President. The solemnity being past, he dispatch'd Baton the General of the Pannonians to Ravenna, after he had rewarded him with magnificent Presents, in recompence of his kindness in permitting himself and his Army to escape out of a dangerous place, in which they were encompass'd. After this he made a solemn Dinner for the people, and allow'd them a thousand Tables, besides a distribution of three thousand Sectores a man; and out of his spoils he dedicated a Temple to Concord, and another to Castor and Pollux, in his own name, and his Brothers.

21. Not long after, by order of the Confuls, be was joyn'd in the Government of the Provinces with Augustus, and was imploy'd also about inspection into the Names and Revenues of all the Citizens, with him; after he had discharged the said Office, he was departed for Illyricum, but being call'd back on a fudden by the way upon Angustus his fickness, he found him irrecoverable, but yet so fensible, he had private conference with him a whole day together. I know it is reported, that after Tiberius was gone out from him, the Servants attending on Augustus in his Chamber, should hear him speak these words; Miserum populum Romanum, qui sub tam lentis maxillis erit; Oh unhappy people of Rome, that is to be under so slow a pair of grinders. Nor am I ignorant what some have written, That Augustus was fo sensible of his ill nature, that in the midst of his mirth, and pleafant discourse, he would stop and take up sometimes, if he faw him coming into the room: And that

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either the importunity of his Wife had prevail'd for his adoption, or elfe he was acted by an ambition of making his death more regretted, by the badnefs of his fuccellor. Nevertheless I cannot be perswaded, that a Prince of his fagacity and prudence, should proceed so slightly in an affair of that importance. I rather believe, that having weigh'd both his Vices, and Virtues, he thought his Virtues did preponderate; especially when I consider, that in a publick Assembly he swore, that he adopted him for no other cause, but out of his affection to the Commonwealth; and in some of his Epistles commended him, not only for an excellent Captain, but as the only thay and support of the people of Rome; out of which I have thought good to infert fome of his expressions as an initance. Farewel, my most dear Tiberius, may you be happy in your Enterprizes, fighting (as you do) for me and the Muses; and may I be happy; as you are a most valiant and accomplish'd Captain. Adieu, have a care of your Summer Quarters; for my own part, my Tiberius, I believe confidently among It so many difficulties and disorders, among It so much remissness and cowardise in the Army, no man could have carried himself withmore prudence than you bave done, in so much that all persons which have had the honour to be near you, do unanimously acknowledge, that this Verse cannot more properly be apply'd to any man living, than to your felf:

Unus homo nobis vigilando restituit rem.

What many had lost before, by dire mischance, I now restor'd by one mans vigilance.

And in another place; Whether (fays he) I be

eriously to consider of an affair, or whether any thing alls out which I ought to refent, I want my Tiberius: mmediately, and this saying of Honour comes constantly. nto my mind, By this mans conduct and prudence, we night both of us escape, even out of the fire. As often es I am told how much you are fallen away by your inlefatigable labour, may I perish if I do not tremble to rear it. Let me desire youtherefore to have more care f your self for the future, left the first news of your sickresi, be the death of your Mother, and me, and the people of Rome run a great hazzard of losing their Empire. My own health is not considerable to me, enless you be well also. I beg of the Gods that they would preserve you in perpetual health for our benefit, f they have no prejudice or animosity to the people of Rome.

· 22. He did not suffer Augustus his death to be publish'd, till he had caus'd young Agrippa to be lain. He was killed by a Military Tribune, (in whose custody he was at that time) after he had read the Warrant for his Execution to him. Which Warrant, whether left by Augustus when he died, to prevent any troubles that might happen upon his death, or whether contrived by Livia in Augufushis name, with or without the privity of Tiberius, is a thing uncertain to this very day: This is most true, that when the Tribune brought him word, he had executed his Commands, he told him, He had no such Command from him, and that he should give an account of it to the Senate. But it was only to put off the scandal for the present, for it was afterwards forgotten, and no more mention made of it at all.

he made use of the authority of his Office, to con-

vocate the Senate; and having begun a confolatory Oration to them, he stopt on a sudden in the beginning of his Speech, as unable to restrain the violence of his forrow, and with a most profound figh wish'd to God, That not only his voice, but his life would fail him; and at the same time gave his Notes to his Son Drusus to read out. This done, the last Will and Testament of Augustus was brought into the Council, but none of the Witnesses admitted in, except fuch as were Senators; the rest being commanded to acknowledge their Hands and Seals in the Chambers without, to which purpose it was read amongst them by one of his Freemen: The beginning of it was thus; For as much as it was my ill fortune to have Caius and Lucius (my Sons) taken from me, I do by these presents make Tiberius my Heir in two thirds of my Estate. From whence their opinion was much fortified, who believ'd he chose him his Successor more out of necessity, than Election, otherwise he would have forborn such a Preface as that.

24. Though he made no difficulty of affurning the Dominion, as appear'd by his Guards, which is a mark of violence and foveraignty, yet he refus'd it most impudently for a long time, rebuking his friends fometimes which follicited him, and telling them, They knew not how unmanageable a Beast an Empire was. Sometimes by the ambiguity of his answers, he held the Senate in suspence, who were at his feet all the while, begging and conjuring him to accept of it; till at last, one impatient of his jugling, cry'd out in the midst of the tumult, Let him take the Empire, or leave it. Another declar'd in his presence, That other people perform slowly, what they readily promise; but he promised but slowly, what

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be had already perform'd. At last, as if over-power'd and complaining of the miserable burden and servitude which they had brought upon him, he accepted the Government, but so as he gave them hopes he would one day resign. His own words were these; I will accept and keep it, till such time as you in your great prudence shall think sit to give repose to my

old age.

25. Yet it was not without reason he was deliberating fo long, confidering the dangers impend ing from all parts. It was often his expression, that be had a Woolf by the ear; and he was not much in the wrong, for a Servant of Agrippa's (Clement by name) was gotten at the head of no inconsiderable. body of men, to revenge the death of his Master: And Lucius Scribonius Libo, a person of honour and quality, was forming a party against him: Besides which there was a double mutiny in his Army, one in Illyricum, the other in Germany, in both places the Souldiers infifting upon things beyond all cuftom or president; but above all those in Germany prest hard, that they might have the same pay with his Prætorian Troops. Others would by no means have a Prince, but of their own making, and putit home upon Germanicus (who at that time commanded them) to take upon him the Government which he would never admit. This being the greatest of Tiberius his apprehensions, he remonstrated to the Senate, that one man was not fufficient for the whole administration, that it was necessary he should have one Colleague at least, and therefore defired they would depute him fome perfon or other, as they pleas'd themselves. He pretended infirmities likewise, that Germanicus might with the more patience expect his speedy successi-

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on or at least to be made his affociate in the Government. The feditions being composed, he managed his deligns fo well, that he circumvented Clemens and got him into his hands. Like (because he would not feem fevere in the beginning of his Empire) he reprehended sharply in the Senate, but it was two years after his offence, during which time he contented himself to have an eye over him, and to fland from his Guard, For as they were facrificing one day amongst the rest of the Pontifices, he gave order that Libo should have a leaden knife given him instead of his Cleaver, and having desired to speak with him in private, Tiberius would not admit him but in the presence of his Son Drusus, and then whilst they were walking together he held him by the right hand, as if he were leaning upon him, which posture he continued to the end of their Dif courfe.

26. Being delivered from his fears, he comported himself very civilly at first, and with more moderation than if it had been a private person. Of many and extraordinary honours which were offered him, he accepted but few, and those of the meanest fort. His birth-day falling out in the time of the Plebeian Games exhibited in the Greus, he would not fuffer to be celebrated with any addition extraordinary, more than a Chariot and two Horses. He forbad any Temples, or Priests or Flamins to be decreed for him, that any Statues should be erected for him but by his own permission, which he granted only upon condition they should not place them among the Images of the Gods, but amongst the Ornaments of their Houses. He prohibited likewise all swearing to the observation of his Acts, and that the Month September should be called Tiber or October, Livius.

Livius. He refus'd also the Titles of Emperour of Father of bis Countrey, and would not admit the Civick Crown to be fet up before his House. He ne ver took upon him the name of Augustus though it was hereditary, but in his Letters to Kings and great Potentates, nor excercis'd the office of Conful more than three times, the first for few days, the second for three months, third and the to the Ides of

May.

1 27. For flattery he had fo great an aversion, that: he never admitted any Senator to make him any Complement, or to discourse with him about any ferious affair when he was in his Litter. A person! that had been Conful humbling himself to him uponfome offence, and endeavouting to throw himfelfat) his feet, he avoided him to hastily, he fell down up on his back. If in common conversation, or any folemn Oration any thing was spoken with more than ordinary Complaifance, he not only interrupt ed, but reprehended the fpeaker. One calling him Dominus, he corrected him immediately, and defired. him not to mention him any more in derision; another calling his imployments facred, he intreated him to change his Epithete and to name them Tron-) blefome; and a third having faid that he entred into the Senate by his Authority, he commanded him to alter his note, and let it be persivation.

28. All flanderous reports, libells, and lampoons, either of him, or his, he endured with fo much patience, it was his usual expression, In a free City, the thoughts and tongue of every man ought to be free. And when the Senate propos'd to him trona time to have fuch offenders examined, he replyed; We have not time enough to inquize our felves in fuch trifles. If your open this door once to such informations, there

will be nothing elfe to be done, under that pretence, every man will revenge himself upon his adversary, by accusing him to you. Besides this there is reported a very modest expression of his spoken in the Senate, upon occasion of some bodies speaking ill of him. If so be (says he) he speaks of me otherwise than well, I will give as good an account of my words and actions as I can, and if he persists, I will

hate him again.

29. In one respect these libells were the more abominable; because he himself was so careful in giving every manhis proper Title, and refpect, that he almost exceeded the civility of the rest of mankind. Having differted in his opinion from Q. Heterius in the Senate, Pardon me I beseeth you (Jays be) if as a Senator I speak against you with more liberty than ordinary; and then turning to the whole Assembly, he said, Most Grave Fathers, what I say new, I have said many times before, a good and prudent Prince, to whom you have given so great and absolute a power, ought to be serviceable not only to the Senate, and the body of the City, but many times to every particular Citizen: nor do I repent of any thing I have faid in this Nature, having taken you alwaies (as I do still) for my good, just and most gracious Lords.

30. He introduc'd also a certain show, and appearance of liberty, in preferving both to the Senate and Magistrates, their antient Majesty and Power. Nor was there any thing little or great, either of publick or private importance which he referr'd not to the Senate, All matters of Taxes, Customes, Monopolies, building or repairing of Houses, raising or disbanding of forces, multering of Legions, and Auxiliaries, prolonging, or granting Commissions noque open this door over to fach informations, there

upon any extraordinary war, as also in what manner and form it was convenient to return an answer to the Letters of Kings: An Officer which had the command of a Wing of the Army, being accused of violence and extorsion, he constrained him to answer it before the Senate. He never entred into the Senate, but alone, and when upon occasion of an indisposition he was brought in once in his Litter,

he Commanded all his Company to retire.

31. If things were decreed fometimes against his judgment, and advice, he complained not at all; as when he had declared his opinion that a Magistrate designed, ought not to be absent, but that his presence was necessary, for the better acceptation, and execution of his honourable office, vetorie that was a Prator defigned, obtained the favour of a Free Embassage. Having propos'd another time that a certain fum of Money left as a Legacy to the Trebeians for the building a new Theatre, might be imploy'd towards the reparation of High waies, he could not prevail; but the Will of the Testitor was performed. An Act of the Senate being to be past by the plurality of Voices, and he going over to the weakest side, no man took fo much notice of his inclination as to follow him. Other matters were managed by their Magistrates also, and in the ordist nary way of Justice; the authority of the Confuls being fo great, that certain Ambaffadors from Africk addressed themselves to them for dispatch, complaining that they had been delay'd by Cafai, to whom they were fent; and no wonder, for he did not only rife up to the Confuls when they came in where he was, but if he met them in the ftreets, he would turn out of the way himfelf, that they might pass with more freedome.

He rebuk'd fuch of the Confulares as were Generals of Armies, that they gave the Senate no accompt of their proceedings, and that they address'd themselves to him in the distribution of Military Prefents, as if they themselves had not a right of conferring them as well as he: He commended a Prætor for that upon his entrance upon his charge, he had reviv'd an old Custom of commemorating his Ancestors in his Harangue. The observies of some Noblemen he honoured with his company to the very Grave. An equal moderation he shew'd always both to smaller persons and affairs. The Magistrates of Rhodes having fent their publick Letters to him without any fubscription, he called them before him, and without any ill words or correction, admonished them only to be more careful for the future. A Grammarian called Diogentsot who was wont to read publickly every Sathirday in Rhodes, understanding that Tiberius was coming to hear him upon an extraordinary day, he would not fuffer him to enter, but fent him word by a Servant, to come feven days after; which Grammarian being come to Rome, and standing beforeidis door to falute him as he came forth, Ti bories faid nothing but, You may come feven years before ow hen the Presidents, and the Governours of Provinces, advis to him to lay new Taxes upon there he fent them word back again, That a Good Shepher de duty was to hear, not flex his heep.

his Soveraign Authority, and though he were long of an ambiguous character, yet was he most commonly inclinable to such things as were for the convenience and advantage of the Publick. At first he interpos'd only so far, as to see that nothing was

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done

done irregularly or unjustly, in order to which he' rescinded several Constitutions of the Senate. When the Magistrates were sitting in their Courts, he' would oftentimes offer himself to them as a Counfellor, placing himfelf fometimes amongst them, and fometimes directly before them. If any Criminal was reported to be like to escape, by any favour or connivance, he appear'd in the Court unexpected, and either from the Inquisitors Tribunal above, or out of his Curule Chair below, admonish'd them very gravely of the Law, Religion, and the Crimes which were before them; and if any corruption or depravation was crept into the publick manners and customes of the people, he took the

care upon himself to see them reformed.

34. He restrain'd the immoderate expences in Plays, and Spectacles exhibited to the people, retrenching the Salaries of the Comedians, and reducing the Gladiators to a precise number. The prices of Corinthian Vessels growing extravagant, and the luxury of Entertainments to so wilde an excess, that 30000 Sesterces were given for three Mullets, he complain'd of it much, and propounded: that there might be some bounds set to the expences of Furniture; and that the prices of Provisions in the Markets, might be annually regulated at the discretion of the Senate; with injunction to the Ædiles, to inhibit all Victualling-houses and Taverns, the felling of any fort of Junkets what foever. And that his own example might encourage other people to be parsimonious and frugal, he had many times at his most solemn Entertainments, meat brought to him which had been dreft and cut up the day before, and usually amongst other things, half a Boar, affirming, Omnia eadem habere que to-N 3

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He put forth a Proclamation, prohibiting the killes which were daily given by way of Salutation, and would not suffer the intercourse of New-years-gifts to hold any longer than the Calends of January: He was wont to give four times as much for New-years-gifts, as was given to him, and with his own hand; but being offended that for a whole month together he was disturb'd by those which could not come near him upon the day of his Entertainment,

he never gave more after.

35. He decreed likewife, that (according to the antient custom) the Parents by common consent should chastife such married Wives as prostituted themselves, and were not publickly accus'd by any bodyelfe. A Roman Knight having fworn that he would never put away his Wife, he difpenc'd with his Oath, and gave him permission to part with her, for having been taken in Adultery with her Son-inlaw. Having been inform'd that feveral women of ill reputation, had profess'd themselves Bawds, and divested themselves of the rights and priviledges of married women, thereby to evade the penalty of the Laws, and that the most loose and debauch'd young men of both Orders, had voluntarily embrac'd the note of infamy, that with the more impunity they might mingle themselves with the Comedians and Gladiators, he banish'd them all, that they might have no refuge and evasion in those frauds, as they design'd. He took away the Purple Robe from a Senator, who had quitted his Lodgings, and removed into the Gardens before the Calends of July, that when the faid day was past, he might hire another at the cheaper rate; and he difcharg'd a Qualtor of his Office, for having married

a woman the day before his Election, and dismist

her the next day.

as also the Egyptian and Jewish Rites, compelling all such as inclin'd to those Superstitions, to burn the Vestments and Furniture belonging to their Religion. He listed the Jewish Youth, and under pretence of a Military Oath, he sent them into the most pestilent and unwholesome Provinces under his Command, obliging the remainder of that Nation, and such as follow'd their footsteps, to depart the City upon pain of perpetual servitude. His resolution was to have done as much to the Astrologers, but upon their humble deprecations, and their promises of quitting that profession for the suture, they were continued.

37. The thing he had most in his eye was, the preservation of the Peace, and the protection of the Countrey from Robberies and Seditions. He plac'd Guards all through Italy, and in more places than was formerly used: He commanded a Camp to be pitch'd in Rome, for his Prætorian Bands, which before that were quarter'd up and down in the Inns of the Town. Such popular tumults as were begun, he corrected feverely; fuch as were immature, and as yet only in delign, he prevented as carefully. A murder being committed at a Play, he banish'd the Authors, and the Comedians, (the occasion of the quarrel) nor could ever be brought to recall them, by all the prayers and follicitations of the people. The Inhabitants of Pollentia not fuffering the body of an Officer of the Army to be buried, nor stirr'd out of the Market-place, till they had extorted a fum of money from his Heirs for the spectacle of the Gladiators; to chastise their infolence,

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lence, Tiberius commanded two Cohorts to march thither, one out of the City, the other out of the Kingdom of Cotius, with orders to conceal their design, and not discover their Armes till they were come to the Town; not being strictly enough obferv'd, they entred by the feveral Gates with their Trumpets founding before them, posles'd themselves of the place, and cast most of the people and Magistrates into perpetual imprisonment. He abolish'd the priviledges of Sanctuaries wheresoever they were. The Cyzicent having committed fome violences upon the Roman Citizens, he deprived them of the freedom which they had obtain'd in the War against Mithridates. After this time he never undertook any Expedition himfelf; if there happen'd any Commotion, he suppress'd it by his Lieutenants, and not then neither, but with delays, and upon necessity. When any Kings were fufpected of ill affection to the Republick, his way of repressing them was rather by complaint and commination, than force; fome of which he allured to Rome by his fair words, and large promifes, but kept them there when he had them, as Maraboduns the German, Thraseypolis a Thracian, and Archelaus a Cappadocian, whose Kingdom also he reduc'd into the form of a Province.

38. For two years together after he was arrived at the Empire, he never fet foot out of the Gates of Rome; afterwards he went but to the Towns adjacent, and when furthest, but to Antium, and that very seldom, and for a sew dayes only; though he had often declared, he would visit his Provinces and Armies abroad, and prepared almost every year for his journey, buying his Waggons, laying in his Provisions in all municipal Towns and Colonies,

and

and proceeding so far as to let the people make their solemn prayers for his happy journey and return; in so much as he was called generally Callippedes, who according to the Greek Proverb was one That was alwayes running, yet never advanc'd.

- 39. But his two Sons being dead, Germanicus in Syria, and Drusus at Rome, he retired into Campania, leaving the people in an universal opinion, that he would neither come back again thither, nor live long where he was; and they miss'd but little of being in the right in both, for as he never return'd to Rome, so he escap'd death very narrowly, when but a few dayes after his departure, being at Supper in one of his Summer Houses called Spelunca, not far from Terracina, several great Stones sell down suddenly from the roof, and kill'd the most part both of the Servants and Guests, without any hurt to him at all.
- 40. When he had travell'd through Campania, and dedicated the Capitol at Capua, and the Temple of Augustus at Nola, which he pretended was the cause of his journey, he withdrew himself into Caprea, taking much delight in that Island, because there was but one (and that a small) access, the rest being as it were hedg'd about with vast and prodigious Rocks, and a profound and almost bot-But he had not been long there, betomless Sea. fore he was importunately follicited by the people to return, in respect of a sad accident happen'd lately at Fidena, where by the fall of an Amphi theatre at one of the Spectacles of the Gladiators, 20000 men perish'd; upon which he pass'd over to the Continent again, permitting all people to come to him, and that the rather, because when he went

went out of Rome, he forbad any body to interrupt him, and all the way he went he declin'd all communication.

over all care or concern for the Commonwealth, not so much as filling up the Decuries of Horse, not so much as changing the Military Tribunes, the Governours, or Prelidents of his Provinces. Spain and Syria he suffer'd to be several years without Consulary Lieutenants; and which was worse, he neglected Armenia, and permitted it to be overrun by the Parthians; Massia, by the Daci, and Sarmatians; and Gaule, by the Germans, to the great dishonour, and no less danger of the Em-

pire.

42. To proceed, having now got the advantage of a private place, removed as it were out of the fight of the World, he began to abandon himself to all those vices, which with great dissimulation he had till then palliated; the particulars follow. When he came first into the Field, in the minority of his Souldiership, he was so much given over to drinking, that instead of Tiberius, he was called Biberius; for Claudus Caldius; for Nero, Mero. Afterwards when he was Emperour, at the very time whilft he was reforming the manners of the people, he fate up one night and two dayes, eating and drinking with Pomponius Flaccus, and L. Pifo, to one of which he gave the Province of Syria immediately, and to the other the Government of the City, stiling them in his Letters, Jucundissimos, & omnium horarum amicos, His Bon-compagnons, and friends for all hours. Sistius Gallus, an old Debauch, who had been noted with infamy by Augustus before, and fmartly reprehended by himself in the Senate, Senate, inviting him to supper, he promis'd to come to him upon Condition that he altered nothing of his old way, and that they might be served at the Table, by naked Virgins. He preferr'd a most ignoble Competitor for the Quastorship, of mean extraction, before several persons of honour and quality, and for no other reason, but because he had drank with him an incredible quantity of Wine at one Meal. He gave Asselius Sabinus 200000 Sesterces for a Dialogue of his making, in which he represented a Combat or Contest betwixt the Mushrome, the Ficedula or Beccasice, the Oyster, and the Thrush. To conclude, he erected a new Office for his pleasures, which he called a voluptatibus, and conferr'd it upon T. Casonius Priscus one of the

Knights of Rome.

43. During his retirement in Caprea he invented feats, and rooms for the more convenient exercise of his Lust, and having furnish'd them with wenches, old Catamites and contrivers of abominable motions, and postures in their Loves, (which perfons be called Spintria) he took delight to fee them in three feveral rows abuse and pollute one another, that by that prospect, his own languishing desires might be revived, and he thereby excited to their imitation. Moreover he had many Chambers plentifully furnished with Pictures and Statues, of the most lascivious shapes, to which he added the books of Elephantis, with the most immodest and impudent postures in the world, to the end that when any one had a mind to practife, he might not want a scheme or pattern to work by. He found out new places likewife in the woods, which he improved with great industry, and made proper for his Lusts, when the young people of both Sexes prostituted themselves in the dens, and hollow Rocks, in the habits of Panicks, and Nymphs; In so much that in allusion to

the Island, he was called publickly Caprineus.

44. And, as if by his station, his wickedness was to have been greater than his subjects, there are things fo detestably infamous reported of him, as are scarce to be told, heard or believed of any one, Viz. That he should institute Children, in the prime of their tenderness (whom he called his fishes) and teach them to fwim up and down, and play betwixt his legs, with their tongues and teeth, licking and chopping, and fometimes fucking like a Child not taken from the pap; and indeed both his Nature and age inclined him more violently to this kind of abomination. Wherefore a Picture of Parrhasus work; in which Atlanta was represented proffering her Mouth to Meleager in that manner, being left to him as a Legacy, upon condition that if he liked not the defign, he should have a million of Sefterces paid him in its stead, he not only preferr'd it to the faid fum, but with much fatisfaction caus'd it to be hung up in his Chamber. It is reported also that as he was facrificing one time, he was fo taken with the face of a boy which carried the Censer, he had much ado to contain till the folemnity was over, but that was no sooner ended, but he took him aside and deslowred him, and after him a Brother of his belonging to the Musick. And having been inform'd that amongst themselves they did frequently reflect and upbraid one another with that impiety, he caused the thighs of both of them to be broken.

45. How he was wont to abuse even the most eminent and illustrious Ladies of those times, and make them most infamously subservient to his plea-

fures,

fures, is evident in the story of Mallonia; who being brought to him, and refusing to Comply with his most unnatural humour, he suborn'd Witnesses against her, and caus'd her to be accus'd, interrogating her still as she appear'd in Court, If she did not repent her set? till at length, abominating his impudence, she slung out of his presence in a surry, went home, and stab'd her self, after she had upbraided the rammish old Fornicator with the obscenity of his Mouth. Whereupon in a Play which was acted not long after, there was an expression that took very well, and went up and down the Town; which was this, That the old He Goats lick'd the Nature of the She Goats.

46. He was so covetous and tenacious of his Money, he never allowed any thing but diet, to such as accompanied him in his Travels, and Military Expeditions. Yet once he was so liberal, I must confess, (but it was out of his Father-in-Laws bounty) That having divided them into three Ranks or Orders, according to their several qualities, he distributed to the first, 600000 Sesterces, to the second 400000, to the third 200000, which last he called in contempt, the Order of his Greeks, not of his

Friends.

47. All the while he was Emperour, he built nothing that was great or Magnificent. The Temple of Angustus, and the reparation of Pompey's Theatre, which were the only things he ever undertook, he left both unfinished after so many years. He exhibited no shows to the people himself, and was present but seldom at those which other people made, for fear lest any thing should be demanded or expected from him, especially after he had been constrained to infranchise

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chife Actius the Comedian. Having relieved the necessities of some few Senators, lest others should expect as much, he declared he would assist no more for the future, till they should make their necessities appear to the Senate, by which stratagem he prevented the sollicitations of all such as had any shame or modely to deterre them: and among the rest, of Hortalus the Nephew of Q. Hortensus the Orator, who though his estate was small, upon the incouragement of Augustus, had brought up four Children.

48. As concerning his publick Munificence, he never made the least expression of it but twice; the first time when he proffer'd to lend a hundred millions of Sefterces gratis, for three years: The other, when upon the burning of feveral Houses upon Mount Calius, he made them good to the Proprietors; The first of these he was compell'd to, by reason of the extream scarcity of Money, and the peoples importunity for supplies; and he had put the Senate upon the publishing a Decree, Commanding all Usurers to lay out two parts of their Patrimonies in Land, and that the Debtors should pay off as much of their Debts immediately; but this was not executed: The other (of the reprizal) he did to alleviate the atrocity of the times, yet with fo much affectation of his own liberality that he order'dthe name of Mount Calius to be chang'd, and to be called Mount Augustus for the future. After he had doubled the Legacies of Augustus, which he gave unto the Souldiers, he never gave them any thing more, unless it were a thousand deniers, amongst his Guards, because they had not sided with Sejanus, and some certain presents to the Legions in Syrias for that they had not carried the Image of Sejanus

Sejanus in their Colours, as others had done. Nor did he discharge his old Veterans but very rarely, as lying at catch to make his advantage of their deaths. The Provinces had no greater share of his liberality (except it were Asia) where some certain Towns

had been demolish'd with an Earth-quake.

49. In process of time, he gave himself up to all manner of rapine, and extortion. It is well known that Cn. Lentulus the Augur, who was a man of a vast Estate, was persecuted by him to the death, and fo terrified, that he made him his Heir; He condemned likewise Lepida a Lady of quality, in favour of her Husband Quirinus a Confular man, very rich, and without Children, who having put her away before, accus'd her of a design to have poisoned him twenty years ago; Besidesthis, several Princes of Gaul, Spain, Syria, Greece, and other parts were confiscated upon so flight and inconfiderable informations, That against some of them nothing was objected but that part of their Estate was in ready Money. He took away also from feveral Towns and particular persons, their old immunities, and priviledges, as likewife their rights in metals, and imposts. But one of his greatest injuries, was done to Venones the King of the Parthians, who being driven by force from amongst his own people, had escap'd to Antioch with great Wealth, where he continued for some time as he thought under the protection of the people of Rome, contrary to all justice and faith, he was not only pillaged by his Order, but most treacherously slain.

50. His aversion to his Kindred, he discover'd first in his carriage towards his Brother Drusus, by discovering a Letter of his written to himself, about Compelling Augustus to restore the Common liber-

ty. And the same kindness he shew'd to the rest; His wife Julia was banish'd, yet he was so far from doing her the least good office to her Father, that whereas by her Fathers Order she stood confined but to a Town, by his command she was restrained to a fingle House, and forbidden all manner of converse. He took away from her also that little which Augustus had given her, and stopt her annual Penfions, pretending a just and exact observation of the Laws, because Augustus had not given any precife directions in that case. Being weary of Livia his Mother, as challenging an equal share with him in the Government, he avoided her conversation as much as he could, and never entertain'd any long or private discourse with her, (lest he should seem to be governed by her Counfels;) when he did, it was but very rarely, and with fome kind of constraint. He took it extreme ill, that the Senate had ordained by decree, That whereas he was called only the Son of Augustus before, he should be called the Son of Augustus and Livia in his Titles hereafter. Upon this score it was he never suffer'd her to be called the Mother of her Countrey, nor to receive any remarkable honour in publick; admonishing her often, to have a care of medling in great affairs, and fuch as were above the fphear of a Woman: but more especially when he heard, that when there happen'd a Fire near the Temple of Vesta, she her self ran immediately among the people, encouraging and exhorting both them and the Souldiers, as she was us'd to do in the dayes of her Husband.

st. By these steps and gradations, he arrived at lalf at that perfection of wickedness, as to hate and detelt her, and if we may believe report, upon this

occasion :

occasion: Livia having press'd him very earnestly, to advance a person (which he had made a Citizen before) into the number of the Decuries, he refus'd absolutely to do it, unless she would permit it to be annex'd to the Roll, That it was extorted from him by his Mother: with which proposition being highly displeas'd, she immediately produc'd certain Letters which Augustus, had writ formerly to her, complaining of the contumacy and intolerable perverieness of his manners, and caus'd them to be publickly read. These Letters having been conceal'd folong by her, and produc'd fo malicioully to upbraid him at that time, he took for hainoully, that some are of opinion, it was one of the principal causes of his retirement. But this is certain, that during his three years absence from Rome, all which time his Mother was living, he never faw her but once, and then but a very short time: And afterwards when she was sick, and upon her death-bed, he had no desire to come near her, but delay'd the time fo long, that she not only dyed before he came, but they kept the body feveral dayes unburied, in continual expectation of him; till it putrified, and fmelt. After the was interred, he forbad that she should be Canonized, or receive those Divine honours were usually conferr'd, pretending her express command to the contrary. He vacated her Will also, and persecuted and afflicted her Friends and Familiars, not excusing those very persons to whom she had committed the care of her Funerals, at the very instant of her death, one of which being a Roman Knight, he condemned to the Bucket.

52. He had no Fatherly affection, either for Drusus his natural, or Germanicus his adopted Son;

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The vices of Drusus (as he pretended) offended him, for he was foft, and voluptuous; For which cause he was not much concern'dat his death; nor was it long after his Funeral, before he reaffum'd his usual imployments, prohibiting the vacation of Justice any longer upon that occasion. The Emballadors from Ilium coming something too late with their Complements of Condolency, as if the memory of his loss had been already effac'd, he reply'd in derision, at their Audience, That he also could not but lament their misfortune, in having lost so brave and eminent a Citizen as Hector. As for Germanicus, he was fo cross and averse to him in everything, that he not only lessen'd and vilify'd his most Noble Atchievements, but condemn'd the most glorious of his Victories, as pernicious and destructive to the Commonwealth. He made his complaint to the Senate of him likewife, for that upon a fudden and violent Famine, he had pass'd into Alexandria without his order. It is believ'd alfo, that he was the cause of his death, and C. Piso his Lieutenant in Syria, the Instrument; who being accus'd of it not long after, would as some think have produc'd the Commands of Tiberius, had not the importance, and secrecy of the transaction discourag'd him. These forts of suspicions rendred him fo odious to the people, that we was oftentimes upbraided by them, and all night long they would frequently cry out, Redde Germanicum, Give us our Germanicus again: which jealousie was much confirm'd afterwards, by the cruelty of his deportment towards the Wife and Children of the faid Germanicus.

33: Agrippina his Daughter-in-law, having (upon the death of her Husband) discours'd of him

him with more than ordinary liberty, he took her by the hand, and telling her in a Greek verse, If you be not Empress, fair Lady, you think you are injured, he let her goagain, without vouchfafing her any further discourse. Being at his Table one time, and she refusing to eat of certain Fruit which he gave her, he forbare inviting her for the future, pretending that she suspected he would poyfon her; when as indeed it was plotted and defigned before hand on both fides, both that he should present it to her to try her, and she refuse it as her inevitable death. At length having aspers'd her unjustly, as if she would fly fometimes for Sanctuary to the Statue of Augustus, and otherwhiles betake her self to the protection of the Army, he fent her Prisoner to the Isle of Pandataria; and in the height of her passion and refentment, not being able to contain from giving him ill language, he order'd so many blows to be given her by a Centurion, that at last one of her eyes were struck out: After which she having taken a resolution to starve her self to death, he made her mouth be open'd, and meat cramm'd down her throat by force. Nevertheless persisting in her defign, she put an end to her life and misfortunes, but not to the malice and cruelty of Tiberius, who reviled and perfecuted her even after her death, perswading very earnestly, that the day of her birth might be numbred amongst the unfortunate dayes. Besides this, he cry'd it up as an act of his favour and grace, that he had not commanded her to be strangled before, and her body thrown to the Fowls of the air; and in memory of fo fignal a piece of clemency, he fuffer'd a decree to pass, that publick thanks should be given him therefore, and a Present of Gold confecrated to Jupiter Capitolinus.

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54. These two Sons being dead, there remained to him by Germanicus three Grandchildren, Nero, Drusus, and Cains, and another called Tiberius by his Son Drusus: The two eldest Sons of Germanicus. Nero, and Drusus, he recommended to the Senate. and celebrated the day of their introduction with a large Present to the people; but understanding afterwards that there were publick Vows made at the beginning of the year for their health and prefervation, he remonstrated to the Senate, That such Honours were not to be conferr'd, but upon persons of greater years and experience. After which, discovering the fecret and internal malice of his heart, he expos'd them to the calumnies and reproaches of the World, by variety of artifice and fraud, inciting them to ill language, that under that pretended provocation, he might have occasion to destroy them. He accused them also by his Letters, full of injurious invectives, and having declared them enemies to the State, he starv'd them to death, Nero in the Isle of Pontia, and Drusus in the lower part of the Palatium. Some are of opinion Nero starv'd himfelf, to defeat the Executioner, who prefented himfelf before him with his halter and hooks, as if fent by authority of the Senate: But Drusus was in such exigence and diffress, he attempted to eat the very flocks of his Bed, for want of other fullenance, fo inhumane was their diligence in keeping all kind of victuals from him; and as if this cruelty were defective, he caus'd their dead bodies to be difmembred, and difpers'd in fuch fmall pieces, it was no easie matter afterwards to recollect them.

55. Besides his old friends and familiars, he had demanded twenty, out of the principal persons of the

the City, to be as a Council to him in his publick affairs: but of so great a number, there were not above three which escap'd, the rest he destroy'd upon one pretence or another; among whom, with the ruine of several others, was Alius Sejanus, whom he had advanc'd to a Soveraign Dignity, not out of any affection or good will, so much as that he might have a man by whose Ministry and frauds he should be able to circumvent Germanicus his Sons, and assure the succession of the Empire upon his Grandchild by Drusus, which was his natural Son.

56. Nor was his behaviour milder to the Grecian Philosophers, who convers'd daily in his Court, with whom he was most taken: One of them called Zeno, discoursing very exquisitely in his presence, he ask'd him, What hard Dialect that was; and being answer'd, The Dorick, he banish'd him into the Isle of Cinaria, imagining he had Satyrically reflected upon his antient recess at Rhodes, because the Rhodians spake that Dialect. In like manner being accustomed at Supper to propose such questions as he thought good, out of his readings in the day, and understanding that Seleucus the Grammarian had been fishing out of his Servants, what times and what Authors he read, that he might come the better prepared with his answers; Tiberius took it so hainously, he banish'd him out of the Verge of his Court, and drove him afterwards to a necessity of killing himself.

57. From his Infancy he gave manifest tokens of his untractableness and cruelty, which Theodorus Gadareus, his Master in Rhetorick, was the first that discovered, and as aptly resembled, when by way of reprehension, he many times called him,

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A mass of Clay temper'd with blood. When he was Emperour it appear'd much more, and that at the beginning, even whilft he endeavoured to gain the good will of the people by a diffembled moderation. A certain Droll or Buffon feeing a Corps passing by to burial about that time, he stopt the Hearfe, and lifting up the dead body, defired him to tell Augustus, That the Legacies were not yet paid which he left to the people. Whereupon Tiberius commanded him to be brought to him, and having paid him his full due, he caus'd him to be executed immediately, and required him to tell the truth of the story to Augustus himself. Not long after a certain Roman Knight called Pompeius obstinately denying fomthing in the Senate which Tiberius defired might have passed, he threatned to lay him by the heels, and told him, of a Pompeius he would make him a Pompeianus, playing most bitterly upon the mans name, and the misfortune of Pompey's Party.

58. About the fame time the Prætor having ask'd him, whether he would be pleased to have the Judges affembled to hear and determine matters of High Treason, He reply'd, The Laws must have their course, and he was as good as his word, for after that time they were executed feverely. A certain person having taken the head from the Statue of Augustus, with defign to fet it upon another, the matter was brought before the Senate, because it was not clear who was the Author; they proceeded to inquisition by torture, and the party was discovered and condemned. By degrees this kind of Calumny became so dangerous, that it was judged a Capital Crime to have beaten a flave about the Image of Augustus; to have chang'd his Clothes before the faid Image, to have carried his picture or impression into any infamous

famous place, either in Money or upon a Ring; and lastly to have offended against his Memory, by fpeaking ill of the least word or action of his life. To conclude, a person was executed for suffering in his own Colony, honours to be decreed to himself on the same day upon which they had been decreed for-

merly to Augustus.

59. Many other Barbarities he committed alfo, under pretence of gravity, and information of manners, but indeed in compliance with his own merciles inclination, which was so frequently severe, there were fome perfons could not contain from reproaching him in verse with the present calamities, and prefaging the miseries he was like to pull down upon them for the future. The Verses were these.

Asper & immitis, breviter vis omnia dicam? Disperiam si te mater amare potest. Non es eques. Quare? non sunt tibi millia centum? Omnia si quaras, & Rhodus exsilium est. Aureamutasti Saturni secula, Cæsar: Incolumi nam te, ferrea semper erunt. Fastidit vinum, quia jam sitit ipse cruorem : Tam bibit hunc avide, quam bibit ante merum. Adspice felicem sibi non tibi Romule Syllam: Et Marium, si vis, adspice, sed reducem. Nec non Antoni civilia bella moventis, Nec semel infect as adspice cade manus. Et dic Roma perit : regnabit sanguine multo, Ad regnum quisquis venit ab exfilio.

Harsh and unkind, in one word to correct thee; Ne're live, if thy own Mother can affect thee. No Knight: and why? a Knight's Fee thou hast none: And Rhodes thy Exile is, when all is done. Cæfar.

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Cæsar, thou'st Saturn's Golden Days embas't;
For whilst thou liv'st, the Iron Age will last.
Now Wine he scorns, doth for Blood only thirst:
Drinks that as Greedily, as Wine at first.
See Sulla th' Happy for Himself, not Thee!
And Marius, but return'd: good Romulus see!
And Anthony, who th' Civil Warsrenew'd!
See Hands in frequent Massacres embrew'd!
Then ring Romes Knell. Great Blood-shed he portends,
Who to a Throne from Banishment ascends.

At first he would have these verses father'd upon such as were impatient of the Roman Dominion, and that they express'd more of their passion and malevolence, than of true sentiment and opinion, in so much that he would often say, Oderint dum probent, Let them hate, as long as they submit: But at last his

own actions verified them all.

60. Not long after his arrival at Caprea, a fisherman brought him a Mullet or Barbel, of an extraordinary bigness, which was intended as a present, but in regard the Fisherman came in boldly on a sudden, and furpriz'd him in some secret affair, he caus'd his face to be rubb'd over with the faid fish, (terrified with the consideration, that from the back part of the Island through unfrequented and inaccessible places, he had made his passage to him.) Moreover the poor man rejoycing during his punishment, that he had not brought a large Lobster along with him, which he had taken at the fame time, he Commanded his face to be batter'd and scrub'd with a Lobster also. One of his Guards he punisht with death, for having stollen a Peacock out of an Orchard. In a certain journey he had taken, his Litter being intangled and retarded in the Bushes, he caus'd caus'd his Guide which was a Captain in his principal Guards, to be laid along upon the Ground, and

beaten till he was almost dead.

61. After this he brake out into all fort of cruelty. as never wanting matter to work upon; perfecuting in the first place the friends of his Mother, then of his Grand-children, and Daughter-in-law, and afterwards of Sejanus, and that with fo much feverity, he spared very few which had but the least converfation or acquaintance with him: Then it was the World began to understand the extravagance of his cruelty, and that Sejanus did not move or excite him to fuch actions, as had been executed by Sejanus before; yet in a Compendious Commentary of his own life, he had the Confidence to write, That he had punish'd Sejanus for nothing but his rage and animosity against the Children of Germanicus his Son, Though he himself caus'd one of them to be killed, whilst Sejanus was under a Cloud, and the other after he was dead. To enumerate all his actions of this Nature, would be tedious and troublefome; fome few Examples in General will be fufficient. There past not a day (either festival, or religious) without some execution or other; He began the New-Year with the punishment of some persons: feveral were accused and condemned the same day, with their wives and children: He forbad the Kinsfolk and Relations of fuch as were fentenc'd to dye, to weep or lament at their Execution; He order'd large rewards to the Informers, and fometimes to Witnesses themselves: He made it no dishonour or treachery in any person to discover; and brought all Crimes to be Capital, though but the speaking of a few idle words. It was objected against a Poet, that he had spoken ill of Agamemnen in one of his Trage-

Tragedies, and to an Historian that he had called Brutus and Cassius the last of the Romans: upon which the Authors were immediately punish'd and their books burnt, though not many years before they had been read to Augustus, and received his approbation. Some persons committed to custody, were denyed not only the diversion of studying, but the liberty of discoursing with any body. Such as were Cited into the Court to answer what should be objected, to avoid the vexation and infamy of their Sentence, which they knew would be Mortal, fome of them kill'd themselves in their own houses, others drank poyfon in the mid'st of the Senate, yet that could not excuse them, their wounds were bound up, and they carried away panting and half dead into prison. There was none of all those which fuffer'd, but was drawn thither with hooks, and thrown into the Gemonia, as twenty in one day, and among them feveral boys and women; And for as much as it was unlawful according to antient Custome for Virgins to be strangled, he caus'd them to be deflowr'd first by the Hang-man, and executed afterwards. To fuch as were willing to die, he used violence, and constrained them to live; For he look'd upon death, as fo flight a punishment, that when he heard one of his prisoners call'd Carnulius, had made away himself, and anticipated his execution, he cry'd out inthese words, Carnulius bas escap'd me: and afterwards as he was visiting and furveying his prisons, one of the prisoners begging to have his execution hasten'd, No Sir, (faid he) You and I are not yet so good friends. A certain Confular man writing his Annales, has inferted this passage, That Tiberius being at a publick entertainment (at which he himself was present also)

was on a fudden interrogated boldly by a Dwarf which was standing by the Table amongst the Parasites, and Buffons, Wby Paconius lived so long, being attainted of treason? at present he reprehended the sauciness of the question, but in a short time afterwards, he writ to the Senate to take Order with all

fpeed for the Execution of Paconius.

62. The News, and regret he had for the death of his Son Drusus, redoubled his rage, and made his cruelty more intense: for having believed formerly he died by his own dissoluteness and intemperance, when he understood he was poisoned by the Conspiracy of his Wife Livilla, and Sejanus; he was fo far transported, that he spared no body, but gave himself wholly to the examination of that business, he sate at it whole days together so feriously, that when word was brought him that an inhabitant of Rhodes (at whose house he had lodg'd, and whom by many kind Letters he had invited to Rome) was arrived, he commanded him to be tortured immediately, as if (as a friend to the Conspirators) he had been attending at the Tryal, and afterwards understanding his error, he commanded him to be killed privately, left he fnould divulge the injury he had received. The place of his Executions at Caprea, is still to be feen, from whence fuch as were condemned, after long and intolerable torments, were in his presence thrown headlong into the Sea, where a certain number of Seamen were disposed beforehand with their Oars, and long Poles to knock them on the head. Amongst the rest of the Torments which he invented, one of the most cruel was, to make perfons fuspecting nothing, drink down a large quantity of Wine, and forthwith to command their privities to be tied up fast witha LuteLute-string, thereby doubling their pains by the stoppage of their Urine, and the straitness of the Ligature. Some are of opinion, that if death had not prevented him, and Thrasyllus (pretending hopes of recovery on purpose) perswaded him to some delay, his barbarity had gone farther still, and as is too probable he had scarce excused the rest of his Grand-Children, for he had a suspicion of Caius already, and he despised Tiberius as a Bastard. And indeed it is too likely to be true, for he was often heard to say, That Priamus was a happy man, in that he outlived his whole race.

63. Not only how odious and detestable these actions made him, but how timerous, and obnoxious to affronts, there are many instances. He forbad that any Southfayers should be consulted in private, without witnesses. He endeavoured likewife to demolish and subvert such Oracles as were near the Town: But he was deterred by the miraculous accident at Praneste; for having removed the Lots to Rome, feal'd up in a Coffer, when he open'd it there was nothing to be found, till it was carried back again to the Temple. Having conferr'd the Government of two Provinces, on two persons which had been Consuls, he was afraid to difmiss them, but detain'd them so long, that at last after some years attendance, he ordained new to fucceed them before their faces: Nevertheless they retain'd the Title of their Offices, received feveral of his Orders, which they derived to their Deputies and Adjutants, daily to be put in execution.

64. After his Daughter-in-law Agrippina, and his Grandchildren were condemned, they were never suffer'd to remove from any place, but in Chains,

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Chains, with their Litter few'd up close, and a Guard of Souldiers to prohibite all Pallenge's they should meet upon the road, either to speak with, or look after them.

65. It was no fmall pain to him to ruine the greatness of Sejanus, though he saw him deligning new alterations; for his Nativity was publically celebrated, and his Images of Gold every where adored; and indeed what he gid was rather by artifice and cunning, than any effect of his Imperial power: For first, that under pretence or honour to him, he might keep him at further distance, he took him for his Colleague in his fifth Confulship, which in his long absence from Rome he assum'd on purpose; after which, having cajol'd him with hopes of his affinity, and the Tribunitial authority when he expected nothing lefs, he complain'd of him in a most shameful and poor-spirited Oration, in which amongst other things he begg'd of the Senate, That they would fend one of the Consuls with a Convoy of Souldiers, to conduct a poor old man, for saken by all people, into their presence. And yet being diffident, and apprehending a tumult by the way, he gave order to have his Grandson Drusus, whom he kept Prisoner in Rome to that day, to be set at liberty, (if need were) and constituted General. Having prepared Ships likewife in readiness for his escape, he was contriving which of his Legions to fly to, keeping himself close upon a high Rock, that he might discover what pass'd at a distance, by the means of certain figns agreed of, to prevent any delay or treachery in the Messengers. Nay even after he had defeated the Conspiracy of Sejamus, his pufillanimity and apprehension was the fame; for, for nine months afterwards he never had

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had the courage to venture out of that Palace which

was call'd the Palace of Jupiter.

66. Besides these trouble and inquietudes, it was no small addition to the anxieties of his mind, to understand the railings and invectives from all parts; for there was not one person condemned, which reproach'd him not with all forts of iniquity, either in his presence, or else by Libels set up or dispers'd in the Orchestra, with which he was varioully affected; fometimes he wish'd (for modesty fake) his exorbitancies conceal'd, otherwhiles he feem'd to hug and delight himfelf in them, and of his own accord, without any occasion, to boast of them publickly. He was reviled also by the Letters of Artabana King of the Parthians, as guilty of Parricide, Murder, Cowardife, and Luxury, and advised by a voluntary death to satisfie the just indignation of the people with all convenient speed.

67. At length being weary of his own wickedness, he made as it were a Confession of his ill life, in the beginning of this Epistle to the Senate; What shall I write to you, most Reverend Fathers, or in what manner? or rather what shall I not write at this time? may the Gods afflict me worse than I daily find my self afflicted, if I know. Some are of opinion he had great knowledge of future Events, and that of a long time he forefaw the misfortunes he should lie under, and for that reason when he first entred upon the Imperial Authority, had obstinately refus'd the Title of Pater Patria, and would not fuffer any one to fwear to the maintaining of his Acts, lest to his greater disgrace he should be found afterwards unworthy of those honours, as may be collected out of his Oration upon both those points, or where he fayes, That he would alwayes be the same man, and never change his manners, whilst his wits were at his own disposing; nevertheless to avoid the giving any ill Presidents, the Senate would do well not to oblige themselves to the Acts of any one, seeing all men were subject to change. And in another place; If at any time (sayes he) you shall question or suspect the integrity of my deportment, and devotion for your service, (which would be much more dreadful to me than death it self) what honour or advantage would the name of Father be to me? it would but reproach you of imprudence in giving me that appellation, or of inconstancy in

changing your judgments of me.

68. He was of a strong well-set Stature, fomething above the Ordinary tallness of Men, broad in the Breast and Shoulders, in the rest of his Members, from Head to Foot, very well proportioned; He had the most and best use of his left hand, in whose joynts he had fuch strength, he would run one of his fingers through a green Apple, though never fo found, and brake the Head of a lusty Fellow with a fillop: His complexion was clear and white, his hair long behind, fo as it covered the Nape of his Neck, which was peculiar to that Family. His face and aspect graceful, though he had several small pimples upon it, and large goggle eyes, with which (though very wonderful) he could fee in the dark, and at midnight, but it was but for a short time, when he first awak'd; presently afterwards they would return to their old dimnefs again. In his walk he marched with his head stiff, but bowing, his countenance fevere, and most commonly filent; when he did fpeak fpeak to those which were next him, it was drawlingly, and with a certain motion and gesticulation of his singers, which becomed him not at all. All which impersections, and reputed indications of arrogance, Augustus observed in him, and endeavoured many times to excuse them to the Senate and People, representing to them, That they were desects in his Nature, 'twas true, but no impersections in his Mind. He was very healthful, all the time he was Emperour scarce sick so much as once, though from the thirtieth year of his age, he mannaged himself as he pleased, without the advice or assistance of any Physitian.

69. To Matters of Religion or Divine Worfhip, he had no great Devotion, as being addicted to Astrology, and perswaded that all things were governed by Fate. Yet he had a great horror for thunder, and when the air was thick and portended a storm, he alwaies clapt on a Crown of Laurel upon his head, because that Tree is reported to be never blasted with

lightning.

70. He was a great lover of the Liberal Arts in both kinds. In his speaking of Latine he imitated Corvinus Messala, whom being an old man, he had observed from his youth; but his affectation, and morosity obscured his stile, so as he was esteemed a better speaker ex tempore, than upon pre-meditation and study. He made a Lyrick Poem likewise which he intituled, A Complaint for the death of L. Casar, and several others in Greek, in imitation of Euphorion, Rhianus and Parthenius, Poets whom he loved so well.

well, and delighted in fo much, he caused their writings and Statues to be dedicated in the publick Libraries, amongst the most antient and Celebrated Authors; upon which fcore feveral learned men strove and contended who should present him with most Commendations of them. But above all his Studies, he delighted in Fabulous History and Romance, in which he was fo well versed, there was not the most impertinent and ridiculous passage which he had not at his fingers ends. His usual Questions to the Grammarians (to which kind of professors he had a particular inclination as we have faid before) were such trifles as these; Who was Hecuba's Mother? What was Achilles name, whilft he was among the Maids?
What Songs it were the Syrenes or Mere-Maids did sing? And the very first day that he entred into the Senate, after the death of Augustus, as if he designed to perform the formalities of Piety and Religion at once, according to the Example of Minose he facrificed with Frankincense, and Wine, but it was without Musick as a Minose did at the death of his out Musick, as Minose did at the death of his Son.

71. The Greek tongue though he spake it readily, and with ease, yet he us'd it but seldom, especially in the Senate; insomuch that being to name Monopolium, he excus'd himself beforehand, for that he should be constrained to make use of a forreign word; and again, in a Decree of the Senate, when the word Emblema was read, he was of opinion it was to be changed for a Latine, and that if no one word could be found out to express it, it should be done

done rather by circumlocution, than continue as it was. A Greek Souldier also being required to give in his Testimony, he commanded him to

give it in Latine.

72. In all the time of his retirement, he never endeavoured to return to Rome but twice; once he came in a Galley as far as the Orchards, adjoining to the place where they fought their Naval Battels, but he first planted his Guards all along upon the banks of Tiber, to keep off all persons which came forth to meet him: Another time he came within feven miles by the way of Appia, but having feen the Walls of the City, he contented himself, and went back again without approaching any nearer. For what cause he did so at first, no bohe was frighted with a prodigie: For having a delight in ) with his own hands as he was accustomed to do, when he called for it, he found it was devour'd by Pilmires, and was admonished thereby to have a care of the multitude, whereupon he went back immediately, and fell ill at Aftura in Campania; but finding himfelf. somewhat better, he went forward as far as Circei, and because he would give no suspicion or jealousie of his sickness, he was not onely prefent at the Military games exhibited there, but he threw darts himself at a Bore which was let loofe, and kill'd him; But having got a stitch in his fide with the violence he used, and taking cold by putting himself into a heat, he fell into a relapfe, more dangerous than the condition be was in before; yet he carried it out pretty well for a while, and being brought as far as Misenum, he omitted nothing of his usual exercifes, continuing his feasings and other de-baucheries, partly out of intemperance, and partly dissimulation; Charicles his Physician has ving got leave to depart, taking him by the hand to kifs it as he was going out of the Room; Tiberius imagining it a design to feel his pulse, perswaded him to sit down again, and protracted the Supper. Nor did he forget his old Custom, but at that time also standing upon his feet in the middle of the room, with an Officer by him, he called them all by their names, and took his leave particularly of each of them when they

departed. 73. About this time, having read in the Records of the Senate, That Some Prisoners were discharg'd without so much as being heard, be cause he had writ only in short, That they were inform'd against, and no more: Storming to be fo neglected, he refolv'd (come what would) to return to Caprea, as not daring to attempt any thing, but in a place where he was fale. But being retain'd by ill weather, and his die ftemper increasing, he died a white after in the Village of Lucullus in the 78. year of his, age, the 23. of his Reign, and the 16th of March, Cn. Acerronius and C. Pontius Niger being Confuls. Some there are of an opinion, that Caius gave him a flow-working Poyfon, which confum'd him by degrees; others, that though his Feaver was abated, they would give him no meat; and some, that when he came to himself again out of a swounding sit, and demanded a Ring which they had pull'd.

off his finger, they clapt a pillow before his mouth, and stifled him: Seneta writes, That finding him-Self going, he pulled off his Ring, and held it for Some time in his hand, as designing to give it to some body: then he put it on his finger again, and griping his left hand fast, he lay a long time without stirrings when on a sudden calling his servants, and no body answering, he rose up out of his bed, but his Brongeh failing, he fell down by the bed side and

dyed.

74. The last day he ever celebrated his own Nativity, having caused the Statue of Apollo Tominites to be brought from Syracuse, with intention to fet it up in the Library of the New Temple, as a piece of incomparable workmanthip orland bigness; the said God appear'd to bim, as he thought, in his sleep, and told him, That he could not be dedicated by him. And not many dayes before his death, the Pharos or Watch-Tower at Caprea fell down, by an Fanthquake. And at Misenum, the Coals which were brought to warm the Chamber, being put; out, and cold for a confiderable time, broke out again on a fudden in the Evening, and continued shining a good part of the night and 8. State of the

1075. The people were fo over-joyed with the tidings of his death, that at the first News they ran up and down the Street, some crying out, That Tiberius froudd be thrown into the Tiber; others, That supplication was to be made to our Mother Earth, and the rest of the infernal Gods, that no place might be afforded him now he was dead, but amongst the most wicked and miserable persons in that World: Others threatned 明人

threatned his Corps with the hooks and Ge-monia, as being exasperated (besides the me-mory of his former cruelties) with a new piece of inhumanity as it were, after his death; For whereas by Decree of the Senate it was provided, That no person condemn'd, should be executed till the tenth day after fentence pronounc'd, it happen'd by accident, that the day of some persons punishment fell out on the same day the news of Tiberius's death was known: The poor people begg'd hard for a Reprieve, but Cains being absent, and no body there to whom properly any Petition in their behalf could be address'd, the Keepers of the Prison, that they might feem to comport exactly with the fentence of the Senate, strangled them of their own accord, and threw their bodies into the air; which action increas'd the hatred of the people against him, as if his cruelty had outlived him. As foon as his body began to be remov'd from Misenum, the people cryed out, That they should carry him rather to Atella, than to Rome, and let him be half burnt there in the Amphitheatre, as less Malefactors had by his Order been ferv'd before him. Yet the Souldiers brought it to Rome, where it was burnt with publick for lemnity.

76. Two years before his death, he made his Will, of which there were two parts, one under his own hand, the other written by one of his Freemen, but both to the same purpose, and Witnessed by persons of very mean quality. By that Will he lest Coheirs, Caius his Grandson by Germanicus, and Tiberius by Drusus, both in equal portions, fubstituting them successively. He left Legacies

likewife

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bed of march wheel

end by her Order

likewise to several others, amongst the rest to the Vestal Virgins, to all the Souldiers, to every one of the Commons, and to the Masters and Officers of every Ward, severally and by themselves.

Cains





### C. CAESAR CALIGULA



Cains Suctonius Tranquillus,
OFTHE
TWELVE CÆSARS.

0.1.1.1.1

# FOURTH BOOK

Being the

## LIFE

OF

CAIUS CÆSAR CALIGULA,

THE FOURTH
Emperour of ROME.

Ermanicus the Father of Caius Casar, and Son of Drusus by Antonia the younger, was adopted by his Uncle Tiberius, and immediately (though he wanted five years of the age required by the Laws) he exercised the Office of Quæstor, and not long after, the Confulship. Being sent to Command the Army in Ger-

many,

many, about the time the death of Augustus was publish'd, all the Legions refusing to acknowledge Tiberius for Emperour, and proffering him the fole Government of the Commonwealth, it is a question whether he restrain'd them with more piety, or refolution; and a while afterwards, having van-quish'd the Enemy, he triumph'd. Being created Conful the fecond time, before he entred upon his Charge, he was (as it were) forc'd away to appeafe fome Commotions in the East: But after he had conquered the King of Armenia, and reduc'd Cappadocia into the form of a Province, he fell fick and dyed of a tedious and lingering disease, the 34. year of his age, in the City of Antioch, and not without suspicion of poison; For besides the livid and blue fpots which appear'd upon his body, and the foam which flow'd from his mouth; after he was burnt, they found amongst his bones his heart incorrupt and intire, according to the general opinion, which reports it of such a nature, that if it be the least touch'd or infected with poison, it is never to be confumed with fire.

of Tiberius, and the Ministery of C. Pifo, who at the fame time being Governour of Syria, not dissembling that he was of necessity to offend either the Father or Son, (as if there were no remedy) he treated Germanicus with great insolence, even in his sickness, in so much that when he return'd to Rome, he escap'd narrowly being pull'd in pieces by the people, but was however condemned to death by

the Senate.

3. This is most certain, Germanicus was indued with all good qualities, either of the body or mind, and such as were not to be found in any other Prince.

Prince. His comeliness, courage, and strength, were conspicuously eminent; his eloquence unquestionas bly perfect, both in Latine and Greek, by which he gain'd upon all people; by the sweetness of his carriage he conciliated love, and made it his bufiness to oblige every body. All that could be excepted against in his shape, was that the smalness of his legs was not proportionable to the rest of his members; but by degrees that objection was removed, and his legs brought to their correspondence, by frequent riding after meals. He flew many of the Enemy with his own hand; he pleaded Triumphal causes; and amongst other monuments of his studies, he left certain Comedies in Greek : he was equally civil both at home and abroad; and being univerfally beloved, he visited such Towns as were Free, or Confederate, without his Lictors. or fuch like marks of his authority. He was fo great an honourer of the memories of illustrious men, that wherever he faw any of their Tombs. he paid all due formalities to their Ghosts. Having defigned to bury the old and difpers'd reliques of fuch as were flain in Varus his defeat, together in one grave, he himself was the first man which gather'd them with his own hand, and carried them to the place. So little inclination he had to revenge the most fensible injuries, that he permitted Pife to rescinde his Decrees, and persecute his Dependants, without expressing the least indignation, till he found him leveling at his life, both with Magick, and Poison. Nor did he then proceed any further than to renounce his Friendship, and recommend it to his Domesticks to revenge him, if any thinghappen'd otherwise than well.

4. All these qualities and persections gain'd him

the love and esteem of his relations in such manners that (without speaking of the rest) Augustus was a long time in suspence whether he should make him his Successor himself, or leave him to be adopted by Tiberus. Nor was he less dear to the people, who (as feveral report) were fo passionately desirous to see him, that as often as he departed or arrived at any place, he many times ran great danger of his life, by the throngs and crowds of fuch persons as attended him out, or went on purpose to wait upon him in. When (after he had appeas'd that sedition) he return'd out of Germany, all the Pratorian Cohorts advanc'd to meet him, though two only had Orders; and all the people of Rome, without distinction of Sex, Age, or Quality, were got in throngs upon the road for twenty miles together.

5. But his death rendred his esteem and reputation much more remarkable; for on the day he died, the people threw stones at their Temples, pull'd down their Altars, flung their Houshold-gods out of doors, whilst the New-born Babes were expos'd and in their indignation forfaken by their Parents. The Barbarians themselves (if we may believe relation) who were at Wars with one another, nay even with us, refenting fo general a lofs, made a Cessation of their own accord, whilst their Governours and Princes cut off their Beards fome of them, and shaved their Wives heads in token of their forrow. The King of the Parthians also left off his Hunting, and forbore his ordinary conversation amongst the Princes and Grandees of his Court, which among the Parthians is like the stopping of their Courts of Justice, and never used but upon extraordinary disafter.

6. The

6. The first news of his sickness, had put the City in no small consternation; but whilst they were fadly attending for farther intelligence, on a fudden about Evening a report was spread, (no body knew how) that he was recover'd and well. The people were fo transported with joy, they ran immediately with their Torches, and Sacrifices to the Capitol, and no little danger there was that the doors of the Temple had been broken open, in their impatience of paying the Vows which they had made for his recovery. Tiberius was awak'd out of his sleep with the noise of their Congratulations, the multitude not being able to moderate their joy, nor contain themselves from resounding with one voice, Salva Roma, Salva Patria, Salvus est Germanicus; Rome is safe, and our Countrey is safe, since Germanicus is safe. But at length, certain news of his death being arrived, they feem'd past all Consolation, all the Emperours Edicts being unable to restrain the expressions of their forrow, which continued in despight of all the Festivals and Holydayes in December. And that which was a great augmentation of the glory of Germanicus, and made him much more regretted, was the miserable condition of the following times; for the cruelty of Tiberius discovering it felf presently after, all the World did rationally believe, it was the reverence, or fear of him, which had restrain'd him before.

7. His Wife was Agrippina, the Daughter of M. Agrippa, and Julia, by whom he had nine Children: Two of them died very young, and a third, a Youth very handsome and witty, whose Picture (drawn in the habit of Cupid) Livia dedicated in the Temple of Venus Capitolinus, and Augustus (having

to kiss it constantly when he came in: The rest of his Children out-lived their Father; three Daughters, Agrippina, Drussla, and Livilla, born successively in three years space; and three Sons, Nero, Druss, and C. Cesar, of which Nero and Druss were declared Enemies to the State, by the Senate, upon the complaint and accusation of Tiberius.

8. C. Cafar was born the last of August, his Father, and C. Fonteius Capito, being Consuls; as to the place of his birth, the diversity of reports makes it uncertain: Cn. Lentulus Getulicus writes, he was born at Tibur; Plinius Secundus, in the Countrey of the Treveri, at a Town called Ambiatinum, upon the meeting and confluence of the Rhine, and the Mostila; and as an inforcement of his opinion, he adds, there are still Altars to be seen with this inscription, OB AGRIPPINA.

POERPERIUM, For the delivery of Agrippina.

But he being Emperour presently after, and these Verses publickly divulged, they would perswade, he was born in the place where the Legions were at that time in their Winter Quarters;

In Castris natus, Patriis nutritus in armis, Jam designati Principis omen erat.

Born in the Camp, Nurs'd in his Countreys War, Portends he was decreed an Emperor.

For my part I find amongst the Records, he was born at Antium; Plinie resutes Getulicus as a liar, and one who designed to slatter a young and ambitious Prince, by assigning him a Birth-place in a Town

Town which was confecrated to Hercules, and that he was the more audacious in his History, because Agrippina had Iyen-in of a Son at Tiber but a year before, whose name was C. Cafar likewise, of whose amiableness, and death, we have spoken already: As for P. inie, the computation of the times is a fufficient confutation of him, for those who have writ the History of Augustus, assure us, that Cains was born before his Father Germanicus was fent into Gaule, after his Confulship was expired; neither is the infcription upon the Altars of any importance to his opinion, seeing Agrippina had two Daughters in that Countrey, and the word Puerperium may be interpreted of either fex; and besides, in old time they us'd to call little Girls Puera, as they did little Boyes Puelli. There is extant also an Epistle from Augustus to Agrippina his Grand-daughter, writ not many months before his death, concerning this Cains, (for there was no other Child at that time of that name) in these words; Testerday I gave order to Talarius and Afel. lius, to bring little Caius hither (if it pleas'd the Gods) on the 17th. of May. I fend with him (besides)? one of my Physicians, which (as I have writ to Germanicus) he may keep with him if he thinks good. Adieu, my dear Agrippina, and make much of thy felf, that thou mayst be well and in health when thou meetest with thy Husband. So that it appears abundantly, as I suppose, Caius could not be born in a Countrey into which he was convey'd from Rome, when he was near two years old. Which evidences are of no less authority against the Verses, especially considering the Author was never known. It remains therefore that we acquiesce in the Testimony of the publick Records, and the rather, because Caius preferr'd

preferr'd Antium to all other places of pleasure, and valued it continually as if it had been there (and no otherwhere) he was brought into the world: And 'tis reported, That being weary of Rome, he resolv'd once to have remov'd his Imperial Seat thither.

On The Sirname of Caligula was given him in the Camp, by the Raillerie of the Souldiers, because he was brought up amongst them in the habit of a Common Souldier; by virtue of which education he had contracted their affection so, that upon a Mutiny after the death of Augustus, his presence appeared them, when they were at the height of their fury: Nor could they possibly be quieted, till they understood he was to be sent away to the next City, lest he should be in any danger by their sedition; but as soon as they understood that, repenting of what they had done, they stopt his Coach, excus'd their fault, and deprecated the displeasure he might have justly conceiv'd against them.

tion into Syria, from whence being return'd, his first residence was with his Mother, and (after her banishment) with his Great Grandmother Livia Augusta; who dying not long after, he made her Funeral Oration before the Rostra, though he was then but a youth, and in his Pratexta: from thence he went to his Grandmother Antonia, and afterwards when he was twenty years old, being sent for by Tiberius to Caprea, he assumed the Virile Robe, and shaved his Beard the first time, both the same day, without the honour and solemnity which his Brothers had received upon the like occasion. When he was there, he was tempted by all tricks and

and designs to complain, or talk more freely than was allow'd; but he was too wise for them all, pass'd all by, as if he had forgot the missortunes of his Family, and dissembled his own sufferings with incredible patience. In short, he demeaned himself towards his Grandsather, with so much obsequiousness, that it was said of him, and not without reason, Never was there abetter Servant, nor a worse Master.

Howbeit he could not, even then, mafter his ill inclinations, but took delight to be prefent him! felf at all punishments and Executions. He diff guis'd himfelf in the night, and ran up and down to Taverns and Brothel-houses, in a Perriwig and long Gown, that no body might discover him! He delighted passionately in Dancing, Musick, and such Arts as belong'd to the Stage; Tiberius willingly conniving, in hopes those Exercises might by degrees foften and mollifie the cruelty of his Nature; which the cunning old Prince had fo perfectly force feen, that he feveral times prefaged, That Gants lived for his destruction, and the ruine of them ell; and that (in him) he brought up a Serpent for the People of Rome, and a Phaeton for the reft of the World.

Daughter of M. Silanus, a Gentleman of antient extraction; and then being design'd Augur in the place of Drusus his Brother, before his investiture and inauguration, he was advanc'd to the Pontiscate, with great shew of piety and good nature. As at that time there was no person at Court but himself, could make the least pretence to the Empire, (Sejanus being suspected already, and a while after destroy'd) he began to look about him, and

to conceive fome hopes of his fuoteffion; and that he might fortifie and confirm them the better, his Wife Junia being dead in Child-bed, he address'd himself to Emia the Wife of Muvius Macros then Captain of the Prætorian Cohorts, and having debauch'd her by frequent foliaitations, he fwore to her, and promis'd her Marriage under his hand, if ever he came to be Emperour: having by her means infinuated into the affection of Macro, as forme think, he attempted Tiberius with Povion; and having commanded his Ring to be taken off his finger, observing Tiberlanto give some signs of reastance, he caus'd a pillow to be clapt upon his mouth, and fliffed him with his own hands ovAh action that feemed fo cruel to one of his Freedmen, he could not forbear crying out; but he had as good have been quiet, for he caus'd him to be hang'd up immediately. Nor is it incredible, fee ing there are Authors which affirm, that if he committed not that fact, yethe confess'd publickly he deligned it; and as a mark of his piety and good nature, he boafted, That to revenge the death of his Mother and Brothers, he went one time with a Dagger in his hand into Tiberius his Chamber, when he was afleep; but being touch'd with compassion, he threw away his weapon, and terired: That Tiberius Saw him well enough; but durft neither examine nor reextraction; and then being lefign'd de risgas

cials, and Souldiers, from his Childhood, and no less grateful to the people of Rome, for the memory of his Father Germanicus, and in pity to his deso-late Family, he arrived at the Empire to the latisfaction of all parties: In order to which, as he removed from Misenum, though he was in Mourning,

and

and attended the Corps of Tiberins with great gravity; yet could he not forbear marching amongst the Altars, Sacrifices, and Torches which came out to meet him, being surrounded with an infinite number of people, testifying their joy by their acclamations, and calling him (besides other lucky names) Sidus, Pullum, Puppum, and Alamnum, their Star, their Chicken, their Child, and their

Darling.

14. As foon as he had made his Entry into Rome, the Senate being affembled, and the people thronging into the Council, by universal confent he was declared Emperour, with absolute power, contrary to the express will of Tiberius, who left him but Coheir with another of his Grandchildren, who was then under age, and in his Pratexta. In short, To great was their joy at his advancement to the Empire, that in less than three months time, there were Sacrificed by report above a hundred and threescore thousand Cattel: A while after, upon his passage into the Isles of Campania, which were not far off, they made Vows for his return, omitting not the least opportunity of expressing their care and solicitude for his safety. And when afterwards he chanced to be ill, the people throng'd whole nights about his Palace; fome offer'd themselves to Combate for his safety, some devoted themselves to death if he recover'd, and fet up Bills of their resolutions in the Streets. To this infinite affection of the Citizens, the no less favour of Strangers was added; for Artabanus King of the Parthians, who had express'd nothing but hatred and contempt of Tiberius, fought his friendship himself, and coming to a personal Conference with one of his Legates, which had been Conful, he pass'd the Euphrates,

adored the Eagles and other Enfigns of the Romans,

and kis'd the Images of Cafar.

15. In this manner he infinuated into their affection, and made himfelf acceptable to the people, by all forts of popularity. Having perform'd his last duty to Tiberus, made his Funeral Oration with many tears, and exhibited his Obsequies with great and magnificent folemnity, he hastned forthwith to the Islands of Pandataria and Pontia, to remove the ashes of his Mother, and Brother, exposing himself to the danger of ill weather, that his piety might be the more notoriously observable; and having gathered them with much reverence together, he put them into their Urnes with his own proper hands. With no less pomp and formality he carried them to Oftia first, setting up his Standard in the Poupe of his Galley, from thence to Rome, up the Tiber, and so had them convey'd by the most illustrious of the Equestrian Order, into the Mansolium at noon-day. Besides this, he ordained publick Services and Devotions, to be annually observ'd in their Commemoration: Moreover, for his Mother he instituted folemn Games in the Circus, and a Chariot in which her Image should be carried in pomp: and in memory of his Father, he called the month of September Germanicus. These Ceremonies being over, by an Act of the Senate he conferr'd uron his Grandmother Antonia, all the Honours which Livia Augustahad receiv'd in her whole life. He took for his Colleague in the Confulfhip, Claudius his Unkle by the Fathers side, who till that time was a Roman Knight, and no more. He adopted his Brother Tiberius the very day he put on his Virile Gown, and call'd him Frince of the Touth; As to his Sifters, he ordain'd in their favour, that they should

should be comprised in all Oaths, and this clause for the future be added; Neither is my self, or Children, dearer to me, than Caius and his Sifters: and in the motions, or reports of the Confuls, that they should use this form; Quod bonum foelixque sit C. Cæsari, Sororibusque ejus; And may it be good and happy to C. Cæsar, and his Sisters. With the some artistice and popularity he restor'd such as stood condemn'd, or banish'd, forgiving all past crimes, if there were any which remain'd unpunish'd. All Registers and Records, relating any way to the proceedings against his Mother and Brothers, (lest there should be room left for fear, or apprehension in any of their Informers) he caus'd to be brought publickly into the Market-place; and having call'd the Gods to witness, that he had never read, nor fo much as touch'd them, he threw them into the fire and burnt them. And this kindness which he hitherto had shewn them, was the reason he refus'd a Note which was offer'd him, tending to the difcovery of a Conspiracy against him, alledging for his reason, That he was not conscious of any thing might deserve the hatred of any body; and, That he had no ears for Informers.

16. He resolv'd to have cast the Spintria or inventers of abominable recreations into the Sea, and when at last he was perswaded from that severity, he banish'd them from Rome. He suffer'd fuch as were curious to fearch for, and perufe the writings of Titus Labienus, Cordus Cremutius, and Cassius Severus, which had been prohibited and supprest by Order of the Senate, it being for his interest to have all passages transmitted to poste-The establishment or Model of Augustus his administration, which had been neglected by Tibe-

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rins, he caus'd to be publish'd; He gave a free jurisdiction to the Magistrates, without reserving any appeal to himself. He took a strict view of the Gentry of Rome, taking away their horses before ail people, when he found any of them guilty of any infamous wickedness: But for peccadilloes, and fuch persons as had but small offences to answer, he only past over their names as the rolls were read, without further punishing them. To relieve the Judges who at that time were overlaid with the multitude of business, to the four before, he added a fifth Decurie. He endeavoured also to restore the antient manner of Elections of Magistrates by the fuffrages of the people. Though the last Will and Testament of Tiberius was declared Null: and that of Livia Augusta supprest by the said Tiberius, yet he caus'd all their Legacies to be punctually paid, without either clamour on the one fide, or fraud on the other. He remitted the imposition call'd Centesima, which was rais'd upon all bargains and fales in Italy. He made good the losses which feveral people received by fire, and if he restored their Kingdomes to any Princes who had been difposses'd, he not only gave them their Estates, but an exact account and restitution of all their revenue from the time they were disseised; As particularly to Antiochus Comagenus he returned a hundred Millions of Sefterces, which had been confiscated, and that he might appear an incourager and favourer of all good examples, he gave to a Libertine Woman 80000 Sefterces, for having indured the most exquisite torments, without discovering the crime of her Patron: for which good actions, a-mong other honours done unto him, there was a shield of Gold bearing his Bust or half Image, decreed

the Colledges of the Priests into the Capitol; The Senators following in their ranks, and the Noblemens Children of both Sexes singing and chanting verses in praise of his Virtues. Besides which it was ordain'd, that the day on which he was advanced to the Empire, should be called Palitia; implying a new soundation of the City, the first having

been likewise on that day.

17. He was Conful four times, the first, two Months from the first of January; the second, from the first of January to the thirtieth, the third, to the Ides of January, and the fourth, to the feventh day before the faid Ides: Of all these he held the two last successively, but the third he entred upon at Lyons alone, not as some think out of vain glory, or negligence, but because his Colleague dyed just upon the day of the Calends, fo as he could have no knowledge of his death. He gave a Largess to the people of 300 Sefterces a piece, twice, and as often he made a Magnificent Entertainment for the Senators, and the Knights, with their Wives and Children; in the latter of which, he gave the Men Robes, the Women and Children favours of Purple, or violet colour ribbons; and to augment the publick joy in perpetuum, he added a day to the Saturnals, and call'd it Juvenalis.

18. He exhibited Gladiators, partly in the Amphitheatre of Taurus, and partly in the Septa, in the field of Mars: amongst which divertisements he introduc'd certain Troops of African and Campanian Champions, selected out of both Countries. He presided not alwaies himself in these spectacles, but sometimes transferr'd that Office upon the Magistrates, and sometimes upon his friends. For

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Farces and Comedies, he represented them frequently to the people, and in feveral ways, sometimes in the night, with lighted torches burning all about the streets: He caused Money and Medals to be flung many times among the people, and baskets of Bread and Meat to be distributed manby man: in one of which feasts observing a certain Gentleman who fate over against him, to feed chearfully and with a good Stomach, he fent him his share also. And to a Senator for the same Cause, he fent his Letters Patents, by which he defigned him Prætor extra Ordinem. He presented them also with feveral Greensian Games, which continued from morning to night, interpoling fometimes the baiting of Panthers, sometimes Justings and Turnaments a la Troyenne: His Principal Entertainments in that kind were fo Magnificently fumptuous, the Greus was cover'd over with Vermilion and Borax, and no person admitted to manage the Chariots, under the degree of a Senator. Some also he exhibited ex tempore and without any preparation, at the importunity of some persons, who were stand-ing in the Balconies near him, whilst he was looking upon the furniture of the Cirque, out of the house Gelotiana.

19. Besides these Ordinary Games, he invented one, such as was never heard of before; for having got together a vast number of Boats, he fastned them in a double rank with their anchors, all the space betwixt Baja, and the dams of Puteoli, and having covered them with earth, he made a Bridge of 3600 paces, after the fashion of the Via Appia; upon which Bridge he past to and fro, two dayes together: The first day mounted upon a stately Horse with rich Trappings, a Chaplet of Oaken Branches

Branches upon his Head, his Battle-axe in one hand, his Target in the other, his fword by his fide, and his Imperial Mantle of Cloth of Gold upon his shoulders: The next day he appeared in the babit of a Charioteer, in a Chariot drawn by two flately Horses, carrying before him Darius a youth, and one of the Parthian Hostages, attended by a Squadron of his Guards and several of his friends mounted likewise in their Chariots. I know it is the common opinion, that Caligula built this Bridge in imitation of Xerxes, who made a most wonderful one of planks over the Hellespont, but not altogether fo broad as this. I know likewise there are others believe, that being the upon the point of making War upon the Germans and Brittains, he had a mind to terrifie them by the report of fome extraordinary work. But I have heard my Grand-father fay, when I was but a Boy, that fome Courtier. which were in great favour with the Emperour, told him, that the true reason was from certain Astrological Predictions of Thrasyllus, who finding Tiberius unresolved as to his Successor, yet more inclinable to his own Grand-Son, than Caius; he told him, It was as hard a matter for Caius to be Emperour, as for him to ride on Horse-back over the Gulf of Bajæ.

in Rome, but in the Provinces, and strange Countries likewise: In Sicily, at Syracuse, he presented them with such Games as were used in Athens; and at Lyons in France, with mixt and irregular. Amongst the rest he ordain'd a solemn Contention in Eloquence, both in Greek and in Latine; requiring those which were overcome, to give rewards to the Conquerour, and to make some Composition or other in his praise: But for those who

gave no fatisfaction at all, they were condemn'd to expunge what they had done, either with a Sponge, or their tongue, unless they would choose rather to be corrected with Ferula's or plung'd over head and

ears in the next River.

21. He finished the Temple of Augustus, and the Amphitheatre of Pompey, which Tiberius had left half undone. In the Territory of Tibur, he began an Aquaduct, and an Amphitheatre near the Park, of which one was perfected by his Successor Claudius, and the other was quite laid aside. The Temples and Walls at Syracuse, which were fallen down with age, he rebuilt and repaired; he had a defign likewife to build the Palace of Polycrates at Samos a new, to finish the Temple of Apollo, call'd Didymeum, at Miletum, and to erect a New City upon the top of the Alpes; but his chief project was, to cut the Isthmus in Achaia, and make a passage betwixt those two Seas, in order to which he fent a confiderable Officer in his Army, to furvey and take measure of the work.

hereafter we shall mention him no otherwise than as a Monster. He assumed several Surnames, and was called Pius, Castrorum Filius, Pater Exercituum, and Optimus Maximus; The most pious, The Son of the Camp, The Father of the Armies, and The most gracious and mighty Casar. As he treated one night at Supper certain Kings, which were come to Rome, on purpose to pay him their devoirs, hearing them in controverse amongst themselves about the Nobility of their extraction, he interrupted them, and cry'd out in Greek, Let there be but one Lord, and one King. And he was once of the mind to have taken the Diadem immediately, and changed the Govern-

Government into the form of a Kingdom: But being inform'd that he was already above the Dignity of all the Princes and Monarchs of the world. from that time forward he began to challenge the honour of a Divine Majesty. And indeed he com-manded, that the Images of those Gods which were in most esteem, either for the Devotions perform'd unto them, or the Excellence of the workmanship. and amongst the rest that of Jupiter Olympicus. should be brought from Greece, that their heads being taken off, he might place his own in their room. He enlarg'd and brought down one part of the Palatium, as far as the Market-place; and altering the Temple of Caftor and Pollux, into the model of a Portico, he placed himself oftentimes betwixt the divine Brothers, to be adored by all which came thither; some were so prophane as to falute him by the name of Jupiter Latialis. And it had been well if his impiety had refted here: But he built a Temple, dedicated it to his own Divinity, and instituted Priests and Victims, the most exquisite that could be thought on. In this Temple stood his Image in Gold, done to the life, habited in a Robe fuch as he wore himself. The richest men of the City, either by bribery or favour, purchas'd the dignity of this Priesthood, according as vacancies fell. The Sacrifices which they offer'd were Peacocks, Pheafants, Numidian Hens, and other Fowls, the most rare and delicate could be got, which they forted, and Sacrificed daily by kinds. When the Moon was in the Full, and shined bright, his custom was to call to her continually, and to invite her to bed to him, that she might taste of his embraces. In the day time he would feem to talk privately with Jupiter Capitolinus, sometimes

times whispering to him, and then lending him his car; sometimes he would speak aloud, and sometimes threaten him, as once he was heard in these words, I'le send you packing into Greece. At length overcome by the importunity of the Gods, who (as he told the story himself) did instantly desire his Company, he joyn'd the Palatium to the Capitol, by a Bridge which he built over the Temple of Augustus; and a while after, that he might yet be nearer, he laid the soundation of a New House in

the Court of the Capitol.

23. Being but of mean Parentage, he would not endure to be reputed the Grandchild of Agrippa; and was angry if any man, either in Verse or Oration, reckon'd him of the Family of the Cafars, affirming publickly, that his Mother was begotten incestuously by Augustus, upon his own Daughter Julia: and not content with this abominable afperfion upon Augustus, he forbad the celebration of the Holy-dayes, instituted to the Commemoration of his Victories in Sicily, and at Actium, condemning them as pernicious to the Commonwealth of Rome, Livia Augusta his Great Grandmother, he call'd, The Gown'd Ulysses: And in a Letter of his to the Senate, had the confidence to find fault with her extraction, charging her Grandfather by the Mother side, to be no better than a simple Decurio of Fundi, though it is evident by feveral Records, that Aufidius Lingo had executed very confiderable Offices in Rome. His Grandmother Antonia defiring to fpeak with him one time in private, he would not vouchfafe, unless Macro, the Captain of his Guards, might be by; with which indignities and affronts he hastned her death, (if he gave her no poison) as some people report. When she

loss,

was dead he afforded her no other honour, but to look upon her body whilft it was burning, out of his Dining-room window. He surprized his Brother Tiberius unawares, and commanded him to be killed by a Military Tribune. Silanus also his Father-in-law, he constrain'd to cut his own throat with a Raifor; and excusing himself in both, he alledg'd, that Silanus refus'd to go to Sea with him in a storm, with design to have seized upon the Government, if any difaster had happened to him; And that Tiberius for fear of being poisoned, had taken an antidote, which he discover'd by his breath: whereas the truth is, Silanus could not endure the Sea, and Tiberius had only taken Phylick for a Cough, which he had been troubled with long. And for his Unkle Claudius, he kept him alive as a subject only for his mockery and laughter.

24. He committed incest with all his Sisters, and at all his great Feasts they lay with their heads in his bosome by turns, whilst his Wife was plac'd above. Of these Sisters (as it is verily thought) he deflowr'd Drusilla when he was but a Boy, and was taken in Bed with her by his Grandmother Antonia, in whose house they were brought up together. Afterwards the was married to Lucius Cassius Longinus, a Consular man, but he made bold to take her from him by force, and lived publickly with her, as she had been his own Wife, and being fick he appointed her Heir both of his Empire and Estate. When shedied, he proclaimed a vacation of all Courts and proceedings in Law; and made it Capital for any man during that time, to laugh, bath, or eat with his friends. In short, not being able to comport himself in so sensible a

loss, he left the Town on a fudden in the night, and passing in great haste thorow Campania, he went to Syracuse, from whence in as much haste he returned with his hair and beard all over grown: Neither did he ever swear afterwards upon any occasion whatever, either in his Orations to the People, or Army, but by the Divinity of Drussilla. The rest of his Sisters he neither loved with so true an affection, nor used with so much respect, as persons whom he had prostituted to his own Catamites, which he

his Sisters he neither loved with so true an affection, nor used with so much respect, as persons whom he had prostituted to his own Catamites, which he made use of as an excuse for condemning them so easily in the case of Amilius Lepidus, charging them with Adultery, and being privy to several Conspiracies against him. Nor did he only publish their dishonours that way, but he consecrated to Mars the Revenger, the three Daggers which they had prepar'd for his destruction, with a writing containing the whole Narrative of the Conspiracy.

24. As to his Marriages, whether he contracted, dissolved, or continued them with more dishonesty, is not easie to determine. Being present at the Marriage of Livia Orestilla with C. Pifo, after the folemnity was over, he commanded her to be brought to him as his own Wife; yet in a few dayes he turn'd her off again, and within less than two years banish'd her, upon a suspicion she had been with her Husband in the mean time. Others report, that on the Marriage-day, being fet at Dinner over against Pifo, he fent him word, That he (hould not touch his Wife; and on a fudden rifing from the Table, he took her along with him, and the next day publish'd an Edict, declaring, That he was Married according to the Examples of Romutus and Anoustus. He was enamoured also of

Lollia

Lollia Paulina, upon a bare relation of her Grand-mothers excellent beauty, in so much that she be-ing with her Husband C. Memmius, a Consulary man, and General of the Army, he fent for her prefently into the Province, forcing her from her Hosband, and taking her to himself; but he not only put her away in a short time likewise, but forbat her future matching with any man whatsoever. Cafonia was neither handsome nor young, and was the Mother of three Children by another man; yet being lascivious, and addicted to all manner of fuxury, he lov'd her fo intirely, that he shew'd her many times to his Souldiers with her Cassock, Takget, and Helmet, habited like them, and riding on Horse-back by his side; but to his Friends he went farther, and shew'd her naked. She being brought to Bed, he honoured her with the name of his Wife, in one day declaring himself her Husband, and the Father of the Child, which he call'd Druggilla, and having carried her round to all the Temples of the Gods, he put her into the armes of Minerva, to whom he recommended her for education." Neither was there any thing more afford him the was his Daughter, than her natural fierce-nels, of which the gave already fufficient indications, by fcratching and clawing the eyes and faces of the little Children her play-fellows.

26. After what we have related, it were vain to

add how he treated his Friends. Ptolomeus the Son of King Juba, his Cofen-German, (for he was Grandson also to Amonius by his Daughter Selena) and especially Macro and Ennia, by whose assistance he gain'd and govern'd the Empire, were all of them put to death, in recompence of their assimity and good services. Nor was his respect and mode-

ration

ration greater toward the Senate; some of them persons of quality, who had exercis'd the highest Offices in the Commonwealth, he fuffer'd to run in their Robes by his Chariot fide twenty miles together, and stand upon their legs waiting on him whilft he was at Supper, sometimes at one end of the Table, fometimes at another, with Napkins before them as they had been his Servants. After he had murder'd others in private, he caus'd them to be cited, and call'd for as they had been alive, and a few dayes after pretended they had made away themselves. The Confuls having forgot to publish an Edict for the Celebration of his Birthday, he turn'd them out of their Commands, for that for three days the Republick was without that Soveraign Magistrate. One of his Quastors being but named in a Conspiracy, he order'd his Clothes to be pull'd off, and him to be lath'd foundly with Rods, whilft the Souldiers stood upon his Clothes, that they might fland the more firm, and have the better advantage to chastise him. With the same pride and insolence he handled the rest of the Orders. Being disturb'd by the noise which they made, who took up their places in the Grew at midnight, that they might pay nothing for them, he made them all be driven out with Cudgels; in which tumult there were above twenty Roman Knights, and as many Ladies, crush'd to death, besides an innumerable company of the common people. Taking great pleasure in fowing discord betwixt the Gentry and the common people, he order'd his Stage plays and Comedies to begin fooner than was usual, with delign that the Gentlemens places might be taken up be-fore they came, by the most vile and abject of the people. HOLLON

people. In the Combates of his Gladiators, when the Sun was hottest and most insupportable, he caus'd the Curtains to be drawn open, and commanded that no body should stir out. And having inverted the usual Orders observ'd in the Election of the persons which were to sight with the Beasts, he substituted old miserable Creatures in their places, such Gladiators as had never been Criminals, or happily escap'd those encounters before, and sometimes poor House-keepers, for having but the least blemish or impersection in their bodies; otherwhiles causing the publick Granaries to be shut up, he brought dearth and famine upon the

people in extremity.

27. The cruelty of his nature appear'd yet more, by these actions following. Observing it very chargeable to feed the Wild Beafts which were kept to be baited, he mark'd out feveral Malefactors to be given to them; for visiting his Prifons in person, he rang'd the Prisoners before him in a Gallery, and standing himself in the midst, he gave order to take away all, a Calvo ad Calvum, from fuch a Bald-pate (as he pointed to) to another, and to throw them to the Beasts, without the least respect to the quality of their Crimes. A certain person having devoted himself to the Combate of the Gladiators for Caligula's recovery, he forc'd him to make good his Vow, was prefent himfelf when he fought at sharps, and would not fuffer him to retire till he had got the Victory, and all the people had interceded for his diffinition. Another having vowed to die upon the fame condition, and being not over-forward in performing his promise, he caus'd him to be adorned with Herbs and Ribbands like a Victim, and in that manner

PLANTEL

manner to be delivered to the Boyes, who requiring the accomplishment of his Vow, as they hurried him along the ftreets, threw him at last down a Precipice, and killed him. Nay fo great was his inhumanity towards feveral persons of good quality and Estate, that having mark'd them with hot Irons. he condemn'd them either to the Mines, to the reparation of the High-wayes, to the Combate with Beafts, (flutting them up in close low places, where they were forc'd to crawle on all four, like the Beafts they were to fight with) or elfe faw'd them through the middle with a Saw. Nor was it for any weighty or grievous offence they fuffer'd in this nature, but upon trifling occasions, as, if they had not lik'd any of his Shows, or had never fworn by his Genius. He constrain'd the Parents to be present many times, and assistant at the Execution of their own Children: One of them pretending fickness upon a time, and desiring to be excus'd he fent him a Litter: Another coming fresh from the murder of his Son, he made him fit down at his Table, and entertain'd him with all possible pleafantness and mirth, as if he had design'd to divert him. The Master of his Sword-fights, and Beastbaitings, having difpleas'd him, he caus'd bim to be beaten with Chains in his presence for several dayes together, not permitting him to be quite dispatch'd till offended with the fmell of his putrified Brain, he could endure him no longer. He caus'd the Author of a Latine Farce, to be burnt in the midfl of the Amphitheatre, only for a witty Verse which was capable of a double interpretation. A Roman Knight also being leading to the Wild Beasts by his appointment; and crying out as he went along, He was innocent, be was innocent; he caus'd him to

to be brought back to have his tongue cut out, and then return'd him again to the place of Execution.

28. Having called home a person who had been banished a long time, he demanded of him how he had frent his time in his banishment, who replying in flattery, I pray'd to the Gods continually, that Ti berius might die and you succeed him in his Empire, as is hapned fince. He imagined the rest which remained in exile prayed as heartily for his death, and upon that bare imagination, fent officers on purpole about the Islands, to put them all to the sword. A fancy coming into his head to fee fuch a Senator mangled and flash'd, he suborn'd certain persons, some to fall upon him as he entred the Court, to call him Enemy to the State, and stabbing him with their Styletto's to deliver him over to the rest of their companions to be cut in pieces, nor could his cruelty be fatiated till his Members and Bowels, after they had been drawn about the Streets, were brought before him, and piled up into a heap.

29. And if he was barbarous in his actions, he was little better in his words; He was wont to fay? There was nothing in his nature he commended for much as (in his own words) his adiatrepsian, or unrelenting at the sight of Executions. His Grandmother Antonia admonishing one day; as if his disobedience had been nothing at all, Remember (fays he) I may do what I please, with whom I please. Having a design to poison his own brother, and suspecting he used Antidotes, How (says he) is there any Antidote a gainst Casar? Having banish'd his Sisters, he threatned them, That he had Swords as well as Islands. A Prætorian Citizen, who by reason of an indisposition, had got leave to retire into the Isle of Anticyra de-

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firing

obtaining his petition, that Califula commanded him o be killed, adding withal, That letting of blood must of necessity do him good, who had taken Hellebore so long without any saccess. Every tenth day he signed Warrants for the Execution of what prisoners he thought good, which he called Clearing of his Accounts. Having at on time condemned certain Gauls and Greeks together, he cryed out by way of exsultation, Gallo Graciam sefe subegisse, That he had subdu-

ed Galligracia.

-1130. He took great delight to kill people by degrees, not on a fudden, or at one blow, but with litthe and reiterated strokes, that according to his usual Expression, They might be struck so, as they might be sensible of their death. Being mistaken (upon a time) in the name of a man, and causing him to be executed instead of another, when he understood his errour; Tis no matter (fays he) he deserved it as well as the other. In short, so unlimited and boundless was his inhumanity, he would often make use of that expression of the old Tragedian, Oderint dum metuant, Let them hate me as they please, so they do but fear me. He upbraided the whole Senate at once, as the Creatures and dependants of Sejanus, or betrayers of his Mother, and Brothers; and producing fuch papers as he pretended was burnt, he justified the severity of Tiberius, as but necessary upon so many informations. The Gentry also he twitted in the Teeth with their too immoderate devotion to Spectacles, and Stage-plays. Being highly offended with the people for favouring his adverfaries, he cryed out, Would to God the people of Rome had but one neck. Tetrinius being accused of Theft, he affirmed, They were all Thieves which accused him. Five of those Gladiators who

who used to fight with Nets in a certain kind of Coats, having yielded without fighting to the same Number of Securores or followers, he commanded them to be slain, but one of the five snatching up his arms, kill'd all the Conquerours, which Caligula look'd upon as a cruel action, lamented in a publick Edict, and curs'd all those which had patience to see it.

the unhappiness of his time, Because not afflitted with any considerable calamity, to make it remarkable; Lamenting That the Reign of Augustus was memorable, for the overthrow of Varus; Tiberius his, for the fall of the Amphitheatre at Fidenæ, but such was his unfortunate prosperity, he was in great danger to be forgotten; in so much that he many times wish'd for the destruction of some of his Armies, Famine, Pestilence, Fire, or some such opening of the Earth, as would swallow

up a good lusty proportion of his people.

32. When he was even in his fports or entertainments, he used the same wildness both in his words and actions. Whilft he was at Dinner or Collation, he many times caused serious matters to be extorted with torments before his face, and fome Criminals to have their heads cut off by a Soldier who had great skill and dexterity in that recreation. At Puteoli when he dedicated the bridge (which as we faid before was his own invention) inviting feveral perfons which stood upon the banks, and making figns to them to come to him, on a fudden he threw them all over into the Sea; fome of them endeavouring to lay hold upon the Helms, he made them be thrust off with their Oars and their Hooks. At a publick feast in Rome, a servant having stoln a thin filver plate from the Tables, he delivered him presently to the HangHang-man, that cutting off his hands, and hanging them about his neck, with an infcription of his crime pin'd upon his Breast, he might lead him about the feveral Tables in that posture, on purpose to be seen, One of the Fencers called Myrmilliones playing at foines with him in jest, and falling at his feet by way of Complacency, he took him at the advantage and stabb'd him with a dagger, then taking a branch of Palm in his hand, he ran up and down exfulting, as he had conquered him indeed. A Sacrifice being brought to the Altar, and ready to be offered, he came himself to the Altar in the habit of a Priest, and lifting up the Mallet as he would have knock'd down the Beath, he knock'd an Officer on the head which flood by with the Knife. Falling fuddenly into a great laughter as he was one night at Supper, the Confuls who fat near him, defired him mildly to know the reason, For what think you (says he) but to consider that I can have both your throats cut, with the least nod of my head.

33. Amongst the rest of his merriments, as he stood by the Image of Jupiter, he ask'd Apella the Tragedian, which of them two he thought the most august, and finding him hesitate, he caused him to be whipp'd, Commending his voice whilst he was crying for mercy, and protesting it was sweet even in the midd'st of his groans. He never took his Wife or Mistris about the neck, but he had this saying, As smooth and as lovely as this is, I can take it off when I please. And did many times protest, That he would rack Cæsonia, but he would know what

it was, made him love her so entirely.

34. Neither was the envy and malice inferiour to the cruelty and pride which he exercised against perfons almost of all ages. The Statues of illustrious

men which Augustus (finding the Court of the Capitol not large enough to contain) had removed into the Campus Martins, he batter'd and defac'd in fuch manner, that they could never be put together again, fo as to make their infcription legible. Befides which he order'd no Statues or Images should be fet up for any man living, but by his express Order and Authority. It was once in his thoughts to have supprest Homers works; For why? (faid he) should not I have as much liberty as Plato, who banish'd him out of his Common-wealth. He wanted not much also of throwing the Images and Writings of Virgil, and Titus Livius out of all Libraries, looking upon the first, as a man of no wit, and as little learning; and upbraiding the other, with his verbosity and negligence in his History. And as to the Lawyers (as if he meant to take away all use of their knowledg, and cunning) he was often heard to fay, He would certainly bring things to that pass, that they should have nothing to Say, but what he thought Equitable and Just.

from the noblest Families of the Romans; as from Torquatus, the Chain, from Cincinnatus, the lock of Hair, from Cn. Pompeius of very antient extraction, the Title of Great Ptolomy, (of whom I have spoken before) being call'd by him out of his Kingdome, and at his arrival received with great honour; as he entred into the Theatre one day to behold the Plays which Caligula exhibited to the people, being observed to draw the Eyes of the whole house upon him by the lustre of his purple Cassock, the Emperour taking notice of it, caus'd him to be slain without any other provocation. As often as he met any persons that were comely, or had handsome heads of hair, he caus'd the hinder part of their heads to be

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shaved,

shaved, on purpose to deform them. A certain Gentleman called Elius Proculus, whose Father had been first Captain of his Guards, was so personable a man, and fo eminent for the tallness of his Stature, that he was called Colofferos, or the lovely Coloffus; Caligula envying him that honour, as he was beholding their Plays, caused him to be pulled down out of the Gallery into the Pit, and constrained him to fight immediately with a Thracian first, who was armed but lightly, then with another who had both Sword and Buckler, and having got the victory against them both, he caus'd him to be pinnion'd, ty'd fast, and dirty old Clothes to be put upon him by force; after which, he order'd him in that posture to be led about the streets, as a spectacle to the Women, and his throat to be cut when he had done. In short there was no person of so mean and abject a condition, whose good fortunes he not only envyed but opposed. The King Nemorensis having enjoyed and executed the Sacerdotal dignity for feveral years, he could not fuffer him any longer, but without any other occasion rais'd him up a Competitor, more Masterly than he. Being present at a publick Spectacle, and observing one Porins a Chariotier to receive an extraordinary applause, for having manumitted a flave of his, who had fought a prize with fuccess, he was so highly displeased, he flung himself out of the Theatre in a fury, and his foot catching by accident in his Gown, he fell down tumbling from one feat to another, crying out with indignation, That the people of Rome (Lords of all o-ther Nations) gave more honour to a pitiful Fencer, than to Consecrated Princes, nay than to himself, who was then present before them.

36. He regarded neither his own Chastity nor other

other peoples. It is faid he maintain'd a most infamous commerce with M. Lepidus Muester the Mimmick or Buffon, and with other persons also who were left with him in hostage. Valerius Catullus, a young Gentleman of a Consular Family, being weary of his continual embraces, cry'd out publickly, that he was unnaturally abus'd by him, and that he had tyred him out quite with his abominable Sodomy. Besides his incest with his Sisters, and his notorious amours with Pyrallis a common Prostitute, there was scarce a Lady of any quality extraordinary, which escap'd him. His way was, to invite them with their Husbands to Supper, and then commanding them to march by before him in turns: He consider'd them carefully, like a Horse-Courser, lifting up their heads with his hand, when the modesty of any of them would not suffer them to hold them up themselves; Having pleas'd his Fancy, he took the person he lik'd best and went out of the room, a while after he would return, with the marks of his immodesty upon him, and without the least shame or remorfe, commend or discommend her publickly; reckoning up the defects or perfections of her body, and telling all the shameful particularities of their Embraces. To some he sent Bills of divorce, in the name of their Husbands who were absent, and caus'd them to be Registred. and remain upon Record.

37. In Luxury, and Riotous expence, he out-did the inventions of all the prodigals of that age; having contriv'd new ways of bathing, and found out most prodigious dishes for his entertainments. His Baths were of sweet Oyls, sometimes hot and sometimes cold; his Drink was Vinegar, in which the richest and largest Pearls could be got were dissolv'd; and his Bread and meat of pure Gold, affirming, That a man was to be either a good husband or an Emperour. Besides this for some dayes together from the top of Julia's Tower, he cast down a considerable sum of money among the people. He built certain Galleys of Cedar wood, the Sterns adorned with precious stones, the Sails of divers colours, the Cabines and Galleries large, and convenient, with great variety of Vines and Apple-trees, under the shade of which as he fate at dinner in the day time amongst his Voices and Musick, he would many times coast along the shore of Campania, in great pleasure and delight. In all his buildings both of Palaces, and Houses of pleasure, he consider'd nothing but his own fancy, and designed nothing so much, as what other people thought impossible. He laid his foundations where the Sea was most deep, he cut his way thorow rocks of the most impenetrable flint, he levelled Mountains, elevated plains, and all with incredible expedition, punishing the least laziness or delay with prefent death; and that I may not trouble you with every particular, in less than a years time he confumed that vast mass of Treasure left him by Tiberius, which was computed at feven and twenty hundred Millions of Sefferces.

38. Having drain'd and exhausted himself by these extravagancies, and nothing left to continue them, he betook himself to all manner of rapine, inventing feveral forts of penalties, confifcations, and imposts. He deny'd that any body was legally a Citizen of Rome, whose predecessors grant ran in these terms sibi posterisque, to him and his posterity, unless he was his Son, the word Posterity being not to be extended beyond that degree; And when the Patents of Julius and Angustus were produc'd; he

rejected them as superanuated: such as by any accident were grown rich, or were any way mended intheir fortunes, he accused of having given in a false return of their estates. He made the Wills void of all the first Captains of the Prætorian Cohorts, from the beginning of the reign of Tiberius, to that time, unless they had made Tiberius or him their Heirs, and charg'd them with ingratitude, as also of all other people, if so much as one witness did but affirm that the deceas'd party defign'd to make Cafar his Heir. The terrour of these proceedings oblig'd many people (which were strangers) to name him their Heir among their friends; and feveral parents among their Children; but he call'd them Cheats and mockers for their pains, for prefuming to live on after fuch a nuncupation, and to some of them he sent poison'd Cakes to dispatch them. Such causes as these he took Cognizance of himself, first resolving upon the Fine, and then sitting in Court to hear the Cafe argued, and when the penalty was pronouc'd, then he would go away and not before. In these kinds of proceedings he was fo impatient of delay, that by one fentence at one time, he condemned above forty persons, which were accused of several crimes, boasting to his Wife Cesonia when she wak'd, how much business he had dispatch'd, whilst she was taking her afternoons nap. Having publish'd a sale, he expos'd all the furniture which remain'd of his Spectacles and Shews, ferting the prices himself so high, that some men being forc'd to buy them at fo excessive a rate, and utterly ruined thereby, cut their own Veins and bled to death. All the world knows that Apollonius Saturninus, being afleep among the feats, Caligula admonished the Cryer not to forget that perfon

fon who had been Prætor, and made many nods to him with his head; neither would he fuffer the Auction to be ended till Apollonius wak'd, who (though ignorant of what had pass'd) was forc'd for thirteen Gladiators, to pay nine Millions of

Sefterces.

30. He did as much likewise in Gaule, where he fold at an excessive rate all the Jewels, Housholdstuff, Servants, and all to the very Freed-men of his Sifters, after their Condemnation: But being allured thereunto by the confideration of gain, what ever Furniture belong'd to the Old Imperial Court, he resum'd again by Orders sent from Rome, for the Carriage of which, besides common Waggons which were to be hired, he press'd the very Horses which belong'd to the Mills and Bake-houses, in so much that there wanted Bread many times in Rome; and the Countrey Attorneys, and other persons ingag'd in the Law, wanting their conveniences of coming up to the City, lost their Causes for Nonappearance, whilst others forfeited their Securities. For the better disposing of these Goods, there was no fort of fraud or diffimulation which he scrupled to use: Sometimes upbraiding every body with their Covetousness, and that they were not asham'd to have more Riches than he; otherwhiles he feem'd to repent that he had expos'd to private persons, the Goods which appertain'd to the Empire. Being inform'd that a wealthy Provincial had given 200000 Sefterces to the Officers which called fuch as dined at his Table, on condition (that by fome fallacy or other) they would place him there among the rest, he was not at all troubled to admit him, nor to understand he valued that honour at so high a rate. The next day, the fame Provincial being being set at the place where the Sale was made, he sent him some certain trifles, and order'd them to be deliver'd to him for 200000 Sesterces, with injunction to tell him, That if he brought those things, he might Sup with Casar, by his own invitation.

40. His new and unheard of Imposts, he levied first by his Publicans, or Farmers, but they gaining too much, he collected them afterwards by his Centurions, and Prætorian Tribunes; no person, nor no Commodity whatever escaping, without paying fome Tribute or other. For fuch Victuals as was fold in any part of the City, the rate was certain. For all Actions or Processes in Law, in what place foever they were commenc'd, he exact-ed the fortieth part of the thing in controversie, and ordain'd a penalty for all fuch as should be convicted, either of compounding, or letting fall the Suit. He receiv'd likewife the eighth part of the Porters and Carriers daily gains; and from every woman that profituted her felf for money, as much as was given her for one time. It was inferted also in the beginning of the Law, that not only common Strumpets and Bawds should be liable to this Tribute, but Married persons also, and all women which had any knowledge of man.

publick Cry, and not by Proclamation, or any thing in writing fet up in the Streets, it happen'd many things were committed by pure ignorance, which he turn'd to his advantage; at length upon the importunate supplication of the people, he set up his Proclamation, but in so small Characters, so illegible a hand, and written so close, no man was able to read or copy it out. And that he might be inexperienc'd

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experienc'd in no kind of Extortion, he fet up a Brothel-house in his own Palace, with several Chambers diftinct, and furnish'd according to the dignity of the place, in which the Ladies and young Gentlemen pass'd away their times. He fent his Officers which knew the names of the Citizens, to all publick places in the City, to invite both young and old to those recreations, of which at their entrance he receiv'd money as his interest, and had his Officers on purpose to enter every mans name in his Books, as persons well affected to Casar, and Contributers to the advancement of his Revenue. Playing at small games, rather than stand out, he despised not the gain was to be gotten by Play, in which he got the more, by lying, and perjury. Having defired one of his fellow Gamesters, to play for him upon his turn, he went out into the Courtyard belonging to his house, in the meantime, and observing two Roman Knights of great Estates passing accidentally by, he caus'd them both to be apprehended, and their Goods to be confifcated, returning with joy, and boasting when he came back, That he never had a better hand at Dice in his life.

42. Having a Daughter born about that time, he complain'd publickly of his poverty, not only as an Emperour, but as a Father, and made bold to receive, and apply to his own use, all the Presents and Contributions given by the people, towards the Education and Portion of the Child. He publish'd likewise by Edict, that he would receive New-years gifts the next New-year, and accordingly on the first of January, he stood himself in the Porch of his house, to receive the Presents which the people with sull hands and laps poured out before him;

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in fine, he was so instam'd with covetousness, and the desire of money, that he would many times walk barefoot, and rowl himself upon heaps of Gold, which he had accumulated in a large and

fpacious room.

43. In all his life he never was actually in the Wars, but one time, and then more by accident than design; for in his progress to Mevania, to see the River and Forrest of Chrumnus, being advis'd to compleat the number of the Batavians, which were then about him as his Guards, he took a fancy! on a fudden to make War upon the Germans, and immediately having called his Legions and Auxiliaries to a Rendezvouz, made new Levies with great diligence, and furnish'd himself with Provifions fo as never any before him; he put himfelf upon his journey, marching fometimes in fuch fury and hafte, that the Prætorian Cohorts were constrain'd to dispose their Standards (contrary to all Custom and Example) upon the backs of their Sumpters, to be brought after; other times again; fo flowly, and in fuch state, that causing himself to be carried in a Litter upon eight mens shoulders, he fent before and commanded the neighbouring Cities, to have their High-wayes well fwept and water'd against he came by, to defend him against the dust.

44. As foon as he was once arrived in his Camp, that he might shew himself a grave and severe Captain, he dismiss'd those Lieutenants (who had brought up their Auxiliaries with the latest from several parts) with ignominy and disgrace. In the Muster of his Army, he cashier'd several old Officers, some of which had already serv'd out their time, and others within sew dayes of it, pre-

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tending they were too old and feeble to do any fervice. He retrench'd the rewards of the Veteran Souldiers, and having reproach'd them with their covetoufness, he reduc'd their Assignations when they were emerited, to fix thousand Sestences: Having perform'd nothing in this mighty Expedition, more than the receiving of Adminius the Son of Cinobellinus King of Great Britain, into his protection, who being banish'd by his Father, was fled to him with a pitiful party. Nevertheless he forbore not to write Letters to Rome, full of vanity and triumph, as if he had conquer'd and posses'd himfelf of the whole Island; enjoyning the Messengers which carried them to go directly thorough the Market-place to the Court, and not to deliver them to the Confuls, but in the Temple of Mars, and in a full Senate.

45. Not long after having no other Martial imployment, he commanded certain of his German Guards to cross the Rhine, and hiding themselves till he had dined, to return then in a great tumult and hurry, with an Alarm that the Enemy was at hand; which being accordingly perform'd, he ran immediately with some few of his friends, and a finall party of his Prætorian Horse into a Neighbouring Wood; where having cut down the branches of Trees, and adorned themselves with them as if they had been Trophies, he returned by Torchlight with great courage, reproaching them with timidity and laziness, who omitted to follow But for his Comerades who went along with him, and had indured the brunt of the day, he hos noured them with a new fort of Crowns, distina guish'd from the other, by several sigures of the Sun, Moon, and Stars, and called them for more particular

cular discrimination, Exploratorias. Another of his Noble Atchievements was this, certain hostages being by his appointment taken violently from a place where they were at School, and fent privately before; being at Supper when the News was brought him, he pretended to be fo much concerned for their escape, that he arose suddenly from the Table, and mounting immediately he purfued them with a confiderable party of horse, as if they had been fugitives, and having taken them by great fortune, he brought them back again in Chains, expressing himself in this enterlude no less idle and intemperate, than in the former. Being fate down again to Supper, those persons which brought him wordthat his Army was ready, and drawn up, he commanded them to fit down as they were, in their arms, and advis'd them in a Verse of Virgil,

Durarent, secundisque rebus se servarent.

To've patience, and reserve their swords, Till fortune better things affords.

And at the same time he put forth a most sharp and severe edict against the Senate, and people, reproaching them, That whilst Cæsar was fighting, and exposed to so many dangers, they indulg d their riotous feastings, and could not abstain from their divertisements both in the Circus, Theatres, and all the houses of pleasure about the Town.

46. Last of all having drawn up his Army, (as it had been for the Final determination of the War) he march'd them down to the Sea shore, and having disposed his Artillery and Machines to the best advantage, as if he had design'd some exploit

which no man could imagine, he commanded them on a sudden to fall a gathering of Cockles, and to fill their laps, and head-pieces with them, calling them the spoils of the Ocean, due to the Palace, and Capitol; and as a token of Victory, he caus'd a high Tower to be erected, from whence as from a watch Tower, by setting up lights, Ships might be directed to Steer their Course in the night; and afterwards having proclaimed a largest to the Soldiers of a hundred Deniera a piece, as if he had outdone the liberality of all his Predecessor; Now go your ways (says he) and be merry, Go your ways and be rich.

47. After fo honourable an expedition, he thought of nothing but preparation for his triumph, besides his prisoners, and some few fugitive Barbarians, for the greater Magnificence of his Pomp, he not only chose the properest and most sightly of the French, but he felected some of the Noblesand principal perfons of that Nation, compelling them to colour their hair red, to let it grow long, to learn the German language, and take upon them their barbarous names. He commanded likewife that the Galleys, in which he had put out to Sea, should be convey'd to Rome, and for the most part by land. He writ also to his Officers. That they should prepare for his Triumph with as little expence, as was possible, but yet with as much pomp and magnificence as ever, especially seeing every mans estate was at their mercy and disposing. od sal an act to day to

48. Before his departure from this Province, he entred upon the most wicked and bloody design which had ever been heard of, and it was to murder all those Legions who had mutinied after the death of Augustus, and as it were besieged his Father Germanicus, and himself as then but an infant.

No final matter it was to perfwade him from de-firoying them every one, but he could never be diverted by all the importunity could be us'd, from his resolution of killing every tenth Man; in which he perfifted so obstinately, that having called them together without their arms, as it were to an Harangue, he caused them to be surrounded by a Body of Horse, well armed; But observing that his delign was suspected, and that many of them flipt away to recover their arms, in cafe of any violence, he fled out of the Assembly, and went immediately to Rome, turning all upon the Senate, and threatning to revenge on them the ignominious reports which were spread of him; complaining amongst other things, that he was by their fault defrauded of his Triumph; though not long before, he had forbad them upon pain of death for medling, or concerning themselves at all, in any of his honours.

dors, from that most considerable Order, with their humble request to him, to make haste: I will come, (says he) I will come, and bring this along with me, clapping his hand several times upon the Hilt of his Sword. By an Edict also he declared, That he would return, but it should be only to the Gentry and Ginmons, who desired it; as to the Senate, he would be neither a Prince, nor Citizen for the future; and forbad any of the Senators to meet him: in this manner either omitting his triumph quite, or deferring it to another time, he contented himself to enter into the City on foot, by way of Oration on his Birth day, without any further Ceremony. Within four months after, he came to his end, having attempted and perpetrated most notorious cruel-

ties, and delign'd greater, had he not been prevented. He refolved to have removed his Court to Antium first, and then to Alexandria, but it was after he had model'd the two principal Orders (of Senators and Gentlemen) and cut off fuch of them as he thought convenient to destroy. And that no body might doubt of the verity of this report, there were two books found in his Cabinet, one with the Title of Gladius the Sword, the other of Pugio the Dagger, both of them containing the marks and names of fuch persons as he designed for execution. There was found likewife amongst the rest of his stores, a large Chest of several forts of Poilons, which after his death being by Claudius his Orders thrown into the Sea, prov'd of that vio-Ient malignity, they infected the Waters, and killed abundance of the fish, as appear'd the next Tide by what were cast up upon the shore.

go. His Stature was tall, his Complexion pallid, his proportion irregular, having a fat gross body, with a neck and thighs immoderately flender; his eyes and his temples were hollow, his forehead large and grim, his hair thin, especially on the Crown: In all other parts of his Body, it was shagged and long. Whereupon as he past by at any time, it was taken as a hainous and Capital offence, to look down upon him from any high place, or to name a Goat upon any occasion whatever. His vifage was naturally fierce, and fevere, yet he endeavoured with all possible industry to make it worse, composing it and setting it by a glass, to discover in which posture it was most horrid and terrible. He was neither healthful in body nor mind. When he was but a boy he had the falling fickness, in his youth patient of labour, and travel yet

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vet fo as he would be taken fometimes with fainting fits, fuch as disabled him to go, stand, or hold up his head. The infirmity of his mind he was so senfible of likewise, in so much that he resolv'd to retire for the purging his brain. It is believed by some people he was poisoned by his Wife Cesonia with a Philtre, or love-potion, which took away his Wits. He was much troubled for want of fleep, never resting above three hours in a night, and that not over quietly, but fearful, subject to dreams, and odd imaginations, amongst which he fancied once, he saw something in the shape of the Sea, which talk'd and discours'd with him; wherefore he past a great part of the night in continual disturbance, fometimes fitting right up in his bed, fometimes rifing and wandring up and down the Galle-

ries, longing and praying for day.

51. Nor will it be improper if to the weakness of his mind, I attribute feveral of his vices, as his incomparable confidence, and his inexpressible fear; for though he regarded not religion, nor fcrupl'd the contemning of the Gods, yet at the least thunder or lightning he shut his Eyes, and pull'd his head under the Clothes; but if the Claps were extraordinary, he leap'd out of a fudden in his shirt, and hid himself under his bed. In a Voyage into Sicily, having mock'd and derided the miracles in other places, he was so frighted at the smoak and noise of Mount Atna, that he had not courage enough to stay at Messana to run away by day. He was a great man also in threatning the Barbarians, yet being on his March on the other fide of the Rhine, and hapning in his Chariot in a strait lane where his Squadrons were forc'd to crowd to get through; One of his attendants faying, That should the Ene-

my appear, their Confusion would be great; he left. his Litter, took horse, and turning immediately to the Bridges, finding them stopt with the Servants and Baggage, and not being able to attend one moment, he made them hand him from one to another, and convey him over their heads. A while after, understanding the revolt of the Germans, he seiz'd upon all the Ships he could get, in order to his escape; comforting himself in this, that he should keep his transmarine Provinces, though the Enemy should possess himself of the Alpes, (as the Gmbrians had done) or of the City it felf, as the Senones had formerly. And I do verily believe, his pulillanimity and want of courage, gave occafion to those which kill'd him, to pretend to the Souldiers who were ready to mutiny, that he had flain himself, upon the news of the ill success of his Army.

52. Neither his Clothes, nor his Shoes, or other Ornaments, were after the fashion of a Roman, or Citizen, or man, or indeed of humane condition: He appear'd in publick many times in a figur'd Mantle, adorned with precious Stones, over a Robe with long fleeves, and rich Bracelets upon his wrifts; fometimes he would be feen in Silks, or Fardingales, in Pantofles, or Buskins; otherwhiles in Broges, like the common Souldiers, and anon in Pumps, or Pinsons, after the fashion of women. For the most part he appear'd with the Enfigns of the Gods, as with a golden Beard, holding either Thunder, a Trident, or a Caduceus in his hand, and sometimes in the very habit of Venus. He affum'd his Triumphal Ornaments, even before he began his Expedition, and wore them all the while it continued; and now and then he wore the Corflet

Corslet of Alexander the Great, which he had caus'd to be taken for that purpose out of his Tomb.

- 53. He gave himself but little to Philology, valuing nothing amongst all the liberal Arts, in comparison of Eloquence, which he studied very much, though he had a natural fluency and dexterity of tongue; especially if he were to declame against any one, and was angry, he had words and fenfe at will. His voice and pronuntiation was fo good, he was heard at a great distance; and his zeal and vehemence such, he could not stand still in a place whilst he was speaking: When he was to make an Oration, he would threaten, To let fly at them with the darts of his lucubrations. He was so great a defpifer of the fmooth and polite way of writing, that he faid of Seneca, a person of much reputation in those times, That his Writings were meer strong lines, and like Sand without Lime. It was his cufrom to write Answers to such Orators as had perform'd with applause, and to undertake the accufations or defences of the most considerable Criminals before the Senate, to which he was either Friend or Foe, according as his stile fell out to be impetuous or otherwise, and invited the Gentlemen of Rome to come and hear him, by publick Proclamation.
- 54. He took delight-likewise in several other Exercises, which he practis'd most studiously: He was a Fencer, a manager of Chariots, Sung and Danc'd well; he sought well in Armes, and order'd his Chariot in the most difficult place of the Cirque. He suffer'd himself to be so far transported with Singing and Dancing, that even in the publick Shews, and Theatres, he could not forbear S 4

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Singing along with the Tragedian, and imitating the Players by way either of correction, or applause. Nor when he was kill'd, was there any other visible reason for his appointing a Watch that night, but that by the licentiousness of that time, he might take his oportunity to be the first upon the Stage. He Danc'd also very frequently in the night, and being once in that humour, he fent for three perfons which had been Confuls, out of their Beds, about three or four of the Clock in the morning: and whilst they were trembling in apprehension of fome extremity, he plac'd them aloft upon a Scaffold, and then on a fudden with a great noise of Pipes and Castagnettoes, he came leaping out in a long Robe reaching down to his ankles; and at last dancing to the air of an excellent voice, he departed as he came. Yet this person, who was so docile and apt to every thing else, could never by any art be taught how to swim. The passion and kindness he had for fuch as he lik'd, was fo indecently fond, that he kiss'd publickly Mnester the Mimick in the midst of a Play; and if any one made the least noise whilst he was dancing, he caus'd him to be pull'd immediately out of his place, and fcourg'd him with his own hand. A Roman Knight giving some disturbance whilst the said Mnester was upon the Stage, he fent him word by a Centurion, to be gone forthwith to Oftia, and from thence to carry Letters which he would fend to Ptolomy King of Manritania, the Contents whereof was to this purpose; Do not trouble your self to do this Bearer either, good or burt.

55. He gave the Command of his German Guards to a fort of Gladiators, call'd Thraces; but for the Mirmillones, he took away their Armes. One of

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them call'd Columbus, having been victorious in a Combate, and gone off with a flight cut only, he caus'd poison to be poured into his wound, and call'd it afterwards by his name Columbinum, as appear'd by the inscription upon a Glass, amongst the rest of his poisons. His affection was so great to the party of Green Coachmen, that he supp'd ordinarily in their Stable, and lodg'd with them. To Cithicus a manager of Chariots, he gave at one time at a Collation, in the last Service amidst the Fruit, which they us'd to carry home, two millions of Sesterces. Nay he was so exorbitant in his affection to a Horse he had, which he call'd Incitatus, that the day before the Greensian Games, he was wont to give notice to the neighbourhood by his Souldiers, that they forbore making any noise for fear of disturbing him. Besides that, his Stable was built of Marble, his Manger of Ivory, his Housing-clothes of Purple, and a rich Collar of precious Stones which he wore for his Poictrell; he allow'd him a house very well furnished, and a Family to attend him, for no other end, but that fuch as were invited in his name, might be received and entertained with the more magnificence and elegancy; and it is reported, that he had a design to have made his Horse a Conful.

56. In the midst of these extravagancies, several persons were inclin'd to assassinate him, whilst others were remiss for want of opportunity; but two Conspiracies having been discover'd, a third was perpetrated by the correspondence of two persons, who communicated their design with the most considerable Freed-men, and Officers of his Guards; who embrac'd it the more willingly, because

cause they found themselves named (though falsly) as partakers in another Conspiracy, and perceiv'd they were not only suspected, but hated by him: for he had drawn the Odinm of the people upon them exceedingly, when fetting them by him, with his Sword naked in his hand, he protested publickly, That if they thought him worthy of death, he was ready to lay down his life with all his heart. After which time he ceas'd not to accuse them one to another, and to create jealousies and animosities among them. It being refolv'd to attaque him during the Palatine Games, as he went out of the Theatre to Dinner, Cassius Charea Tribune of one of the Prætorian Cohorts, defired the first part in the Action, in revenge of the continual affronts he receiv'd from him; for though he was ancient, and well stricken in years, yet Caligula in most opprobrious manner abus'd him, as wanton and effeminate; coming to him one while for the word, he gave him (by way of mockery) Priapus, or Venus: And when he address'd himself to him, to give him thanks for any thing, he thrust out his hand for him to kis, but it was alwayes in a most obscene and immodest form.

57. His death was foretold by many remarkable Prodigies: As by his order they were pulling down the Statue of Jupiter, to convey it to Rome, on a fudden the Image fell into fuch a laughter, that the Scaffolds fell down, and the Workmen ran away in confusion; and immediately a person, one Cassius by name, appeared, affirming, That he was warned in a Dream to come thither, to sacrifice a Bull to Jupiter.

Piter. The Capitol at Capua was struck with Lightning, upon the Ides of March, and the Porters Lodge belonging to the Imperial Palace at Rome. Some there were which conjectured. that by one of these Prodigies, danger was portended to the Master of the house from his Guards; and by the other, fome eminent Murder, fuch as had been committed in former times upon the fame day. And confulting Sylla the Astrologer about his Horoscope, he assur'd him, His death was most certainly at hand. In like manner the Oracle at Antium admonish'd him, To have a care of Cassius: upon which intimation he fent on purpose to have Cassius Longinus ( at that time Proconful of Alia) put to death, not remembring that Charea was named Cassius too. The day before his assassination, he dreamt that he was in Heaven? standing by the Throne of Jupiter, and that Jupiter spurning him with the great Toe of his right foot, tumbled him down headlong to the Earth. Some accidents also which happen'd that very day, were look'd upon as prefages. As he was facrificing a Phanicopterus, the blood flew upon him, and besprinkled him; Mnefter the Mimick acted the fame Tragedy, which Neoptolemus acted when Philip King of Macedon was flain. It happen'd again, that in a Farce, where the principal Actor making violent haste to dis-ingage himself from some imminent ruine, vomited blood; the Actors of the second form endeavouring to do the same, the whole Stage became cover'd with blood: Besides all which, the Masque prepar'd for that night, was a representation of Moors, and Ægyptians, who

who were to explicate and represent all the Fables of Hell.

58. Upon the ninth day before the Calends of February, about one a Clock in the Afternoon, finding his stomach oppressed with what he had eat the day before, he was in great debate with himself, whether he had best rise to Dinner or not; at length over-perswaded by his Friends, he got up, and went forth. In a Cloyster thorow which he was to pass, certain young Gentlemen which were fent for out of Asia to Act upon the Stage, being brought thither for him to fee, he stood still a while to obferve and encourage them, and had not the chief of them complain'd he was cold, he would have presently gone back, and seen them acted. What fell out afterwards, is reported two feveral wayes; fome fay, that whilft he was in discourse with these Boyes, Charea came behind him, and with his Sword gave him a mortal blow on the back part of his head, giving him these words as he was striking, Hoc age, Think upon this: after which another of the Tribunes call'd Cornelius Sabinus, one of the Conspirators likewise, ranhim clear through the body. Others fay, that the Centurions who were privy to the defign, having removed the multitude from about him, Sabinus went to him, as usually, for the word, and that Caligula giving him, Jupiter, Charea cry'd out, Accipe ratum, Take it sure; and as Caligula look'd behind him, Charea cut off his Jaw at one blow, and struck him to the ground; where, as he lay along tumbling and gathering up his limbs, he cry'd out several times, He was still alive; but the rest of the Conspirators fell in, and dispatch'd him

him with thirty wounds, their word amongst themselves being, Repete, Tohim again; in which some of them were so zealous, they ran him into the very Privities: at the first noise and alarm of the tumult, his Litter-men came in with their Litter-staves to his rescue, and presently after them, his German Guards, who kill'd some of the Conspirators, and amongst them some innocent Senators also.

three years, ten months, and eight dayes. His body was convey'd privately into the Lamian Orchards, where being but half burnt upon a pile erected in haste, it was cover'd over lightly with earth for the present; but afterwards his Sisters being return'd from their banishment, they took it up again, burnt it to ashes, and solemnly interr'd it. This is most certain, before that was done, the Keepers of the Orchards were continually molested with apparitions: In the house where he was kill'd, there was not a night

pass'd without some dreadful Vision or other, till at last it was burnt down to the ground. His Wife Casonia was stabb'd also by a Centurion, and his Daughter (an Infant) had her brains beaten our

against a wall.

60. What the condition of those times were, any one may collect from these very particulars; upon the first report, his death was not believ'd, it being suspected to be given out by himself, to discover the affections of the people towards him. Neither had the persons engaged in the Conspiracy, designed any other body to succeed him: The whole Senate was so unanimously dispos'd to their ancient Freedom, that the Consuls would

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not call them at first into the Ordinary Court, because it was call'd Julia, but convented them in the Capitol. Some were of opinion, to abolish the very memory of the Casars, and to pull down their Temples. And it is particularly remarkable, that all the Casars whose first names were Caius, died by the Sword, from that very Caius who was kill'd in the dayes of Cinna.

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CLAUDIUS DRUM SCENAJO



# T.CLAUDIUS, DRUSUS, CASAR



## Cains Snetonius Tranquillus, OFTHE

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# Tib. Claudius Drusus Casar, di

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Emperour of ROME.

RUSUS the Father of Claudius Cafar, was first called Decimus, and afterwards Nero; the was the Son of Livia, who was brought to bed of him within three Months after fhe was married to Augustus, by adultery with whom being his Father in Law, afterwards it was supposed he was gotten:

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gotten: however it was, this Greek Verse slew about,

Tois durux sor is Thunte wardia.

The Happy, and men in high place May Children have in three Months space.

1. This Drusus being Quæstor, and Prætor, was made General of an Army, against the Rhetians and Germans, and was the first Roman Captain that ever fail'd upon the Northern Ocean. He it was who made the new and prodigious Trenchés on the other fide the Rhine, which are called Fosse Drusine to this day. He defeated his Enemies feveral times, pursuing them into the Deferts, and uninhabited places, neither had he given them over fo, had he not been forbidden by a Phantasm in the likeness of a Barbarian Woman (above humane stature) which appear'd to him, and admonish'd him in the Latin Tongue, to give over the pursuit: For these so noble atchievements he had the honout of an Ovation, and liberty to wear the Triumphal Ornaments: Afterwards at the Expiration of his Prætorship, being entred upon the Confulfhip, he undertook a fecond Expedition, but he fell fick of a diffemper, and dyed in his Summer Camp, which was called Scelerata, unfortunate, from that day: His body was carried to Rome by the principal persons of the Municipal Towns and Colonies, all the Decuries coming out to meet it, and at last was honourably buried in the Field of Mars; The Souldiers fetting up a Tomb for him, about which every year afterwards they were to meet upon a precise day, and hold their Courfes and Turnaments in honour to his Memo-

Memory; and the Cities of the Gauls, to make publick Processions and Prayers. Besides this, amongst many other Testimonies of their affection, they ordereda Triumphal Arch of Marble to be fet up in the Via Appia, and the Surname of Germanicus to be given to him and his Heirs. He was thought to be a person no less Magnanimous, than civil, for befides the vast Spoils and Victories he obtain'd, he expos'd himself often times, and pursued the Generals of the Enemy all over the field. Nor could he hold from profesling, that if ever it fell into his power, he would restore the Common-wealth to its pristine Estate. Upon which grounds some there are, who imagine he was call'd back from his Province, by an Express from Augustus, and poison'd, for not making fo much halt as was required: which I have inferted here, rather out of a resolution to pass by nothing, than that I think there is any truth or likelihood in it, feeing Augustus loved him so tenderly whilft he was living, that he alwaies made him Co-heir with the rest of his Sons; declared it long before publickly in the Senate; and when Drusus was dead, in a funeral Oration which he made in his praise, he beg'd of the Gods, That they would fend him such Children as Drusus, and that they would vouchfafe him as bonourable an Exit one day, as they had conferr'd upon him. Nor contented with that Elegy, he caused an Epitaph in Verse of his own composition, to be engraven upon his Tomb, befides the Commentaries of his Life, which he writ in Profe afterwards. He had feveral Children by Antonia the Younger, but he left behind him but three, Germanicus, Livilla, and Claudius.

2. Claudius was born at Lyons, the first of August, in the Consulship of Julius Antonius, and Fabius Africanus, on the very day wherein an Altar was dedicated to the Memory of Augustus: He was called at first, Tiberius Claudius Drusus, but not long after, his elder Brother being adopted into the Family of the Julii, he took upon him the Surname of Germanicus. Being left an Infant by his Father, and continuing fickly, during all his Childhood and minority, by the tediousness of his Distemper, he was so infeebled, both in body and mind, that he was look'd upon as incapable of any publick imployment; for fuch was his weakness, a long time after he was at age, that he was kept under the Tutelage of a Governour, of whom he complained in a book of his, As of a Barbarons person, who had been formerly a Groom, and was set over him on purpose to plague and chastise him upon every trivial occafion. Upon the score of his indisposition, he presided in the Sword-Plays, which his Brother and he exhibited to the people in memory of their Father, wrap'd up after a new way in a Muffler, and when he assumed the Virile Robe, he was carried to the Capitol in a Litter, about midnight without any honour at all. O Issue Is

Mowbeit from his very Childhood he took no small pains in the study of the Liberal Sciences, and gave frequent and publick testimonies of his proficiency in them all: Yet could he not with all his learning acquire the least dignity, or extingush the ill opinion conceived of him. His Mother Antonia call'd him usually Portentum Natura, &c. The prodigy of Nature, which she had begun, but not simished; and when she had a mind to upbraid any one for his dulness or stupidity, she would say, He was a greater fool than her Son Claudius Nor had his Grandmother Augusta any better thoughts of him, who never

never spake to him, but unwillingly, and never admonish'd him, but in a sharp, though short note, or else by a Messenger on purpose, and when his Sister Livilla understood he was like to be Emperor, she could not forbear lamenting, and publickly detesting, the unhappy fortune of the People of Rome.

4. And no wonder, for to the end that the judgment his Great Unkle Augustus had of him, might more certainly appear, I have thought good in this place to fet down some particulars which I have met with in his Epistles: I have (fays he) my dear Livia, communicated with Tiberius according to your desire, about what is to be done to your Nephew Tiberius, at the solemnity of Mars; and we are both of us of opinion, that a resolution must be taken, what course we are to steer with him; If he has no weakness or infirmities uton him, we ought without all doubt to advance him by the same steps and degrees as his brother was rais'd; On the contrary, if we find any feebleness or incapacity, either in his body, or wit, we must not give occasion to the World (which is too prone naturally to such things) to mock and deride both him, and us; otherwise we shall be in a perpetual uncertainty, if we deliberate every moment whether he be capable, or not. Nevertheless as to those things in which you desire my advice, I hold it not amiss, if at the solemnity of Mars, he superinspects, and gives Orders for the entertain-ment of the Priests, upon condition he will suffer him self to be admonish'd by the Son of Silanus, (his Kinfman) who will instruct him, and prevent his doing any thing may be notoriously ridiculous. But I am utterly against his seeing the Circensiam Games, from so eminent a place as the Pulvinar, because being as it were in the face of the Theatre, he will be too much exposed to the

the Eyes of the Spectators; It seems to me no less inconvenient that he should go up to the Albane Mount, or remain in Rome upon the Festivals of the Latines: For, if he be able to follow his Brother to the Mountain, Why is be not as fit to have the Government of the City? Thus (my dear Livia) we have given our Judgments, which is, to come to a resolution at once, upon the whole matter, and not to hang always in suspence betwixt hope and fear. And this part of our Letter, if you please, you may show to Antonia. Again, in another Letter, During your absence I shall constantly invite young Tiberius to my Table, that he may not sup alone with his Sulpitius, and Athenodorus. I wish with all my heart the poor boy would propose to himself the Example of some well-bred Gentleman, and imitate him in his Gesture, Habit, and Miene; For though he has no great esteem among st men of deep learning, yet if his thoughts be not wandring, the nobleness of his heart is visible enough. And in a third, Let me not live (my Livia) if I do not admire bow your Nephew Tiberius could please me so fully in his Declamation, for I am not able to comprehend, how a person whick talks so ill as he does, should Declaim with that life and perspicuity. These impersections were the canse, that Augustus honoured him with nothing more than the Sacerdotal dignity of the Augurs, mentioned him in his will amongst his Heirs in the third degree, (who were almost extraneous) and that not fo much as in a fixth part of his personal Estate, leaving him in ready Money but a Legacy only of not above 800 Sefterces.

5. Tiberius, his Unkle by the Fathers side, when he desired some honourable advancement or other, never gratify'd him any further, than with the Ornaments of a Consul; and when he prest and

impor-

importuned for any real preferment; he writhim back word only this for all, That he had fent him forty pieces of Gold against the Saturnalia, for Playing Money, and to lay out in the Sigillaria, as he pleas'd: Upon this answer, and not before, he laid aside all hopes of rising to any considerable imployment in the Common-wealth, whereupon he retired sometimes to his Gardens in the Suburbs, sometimes to a Countrey house he had in Campania, and by his Conversation with mean and dissolute Company, besides the old scandal of laziness which lay upon him, he acquired the imputation of a Gamester, and a Drunkard.

6. Notwithstanding he lived at this rate, he never wanted the honour and respect of the people, both in publick and private: The Equestrian Or-der chose him their Patron twice, in business which concerned them particularly. Once when they petition'd the Confuls to permit them to carry the Body of Augustus to Rome upon their Shoulders; The fecond time, when they congratulated to them the destruction of Sejanus. Besides this, when they faw him enter into the Theatre at any time, they not only arose and stood up, but they pull'd off their Mantles, and laid them by, in testimony of their respect. It was voted also in the Senate that he should be added (extraordinarily) to the fraternity of the Augustales (into which before him, never any was chosen but by lot) that a house of his which by accident had been burnt, should be re-edified at the publick charge, and that he should have a deliberative voice, amongst those who had been Confuls. But Tiberius pretending his weakness and imbe-T 4.

imbecillity, and promising to make good his loss by the sire, out of his own liberality, That Vote, and Decree of the Senate was abolish'd. Yet the same Tiberius when he came to dye, named him one of his Heirs in the third rank, to a third part of his Estate, and lest him a Legacy of about two Millions of Sesterces, besides which he recommended him particularly to the Army, the Senate, and the

People of Rome.

7. At length in the Reign of Cains, his Brothers Son, (who at his coming to the Empire, endeavoured to gain a reputation and interest among the People, by all manner of indulgence) he was first admitted into Office, and exercis'd the Office of Consul with him two months together: during which Consulship, it happened the first time he entred into the Forum with his rods, an Eagle being upon wing, came and pearch'd upon his right Shoulder. He was drawn also for the Consulship four years after, and presided now and then in the Spectacles and Shows, in Cains his room, receiving the acclamations and benedictions of the People, partly as he was Unkle to the Emperour, and partly as he was Brother to Germanicus.

8. Yet all this could not exempt him from affronts: for if he came to supper never so little of the latest, he was hardly admitted, and glad to take several turns about the Chamber before he could have a place to sit down: if he took a Nap after meat (as he usually did) the Drolls and Wits threw the stones of Olives and Dates at him, in sport, sometimes they would wake him with a Ferula, or Whip, and sometimes put his Pumps upon his hands as he lay snorting, that when he awak'd, he might rub his

face with them.

9. Neither

o. Neither was his life fo quiet and ferene, but he had his troubles and dangers like other men. As first, he was almost turn'd out of his Consulship, for not ordering the Statues of Nero, and Drusus, (the Brothers of Casar) to be set up, with that diligence as was required: After this he was divers times disturb'd by the informations of strangers, sometimes of his own fervants: When the Conspiracy of Lepidus and Getulicus was discover'd, being deputed amongstother persons into Germany, to congratulate the Emperours deliverance in the name of the City; he was in no small danger of his life, for Caiustook it in fo great indignity, that they should fend his Unkle to him of all people, as it were to govern a Child; that as fome have ventured to report, he was thrown headlong into a river by his Order in the fame habit he arrived: from which time forwards he never gave his opinion in the Senate, but the last of all those which had been Confuls, being (by way of ignominy and contempt) the last always which was ask'd. There was a charge brought in against him likewise, for setting his hand and seal to a forged will; and last of all, not being able to pay eight Millions of Sefterces, (which was his fine upon his entrance into his new Office of Priesthood)he was driven to fuch streights, he was forc'd to abfcond, and the Officers of the Treasury made out Process, for the seising his Estate.

of his time, at the fiftieth year of his age, by a most admirable accident, he arriv'd at the Empire: Being shut out amongst the rest of the people, by the murderers of Caius, upon pretence that desiring to be private, he had order'd to clear the room; Claudius withdrew into a Dining-room, called Hermaum;

not having been long there, before he had the alarm of Cains his death, he stole up into a Chamber in a great fright, and hid himfelf behind the hangings, but his legs being feen by a common Soldier coming that way by accident, he had the curiofity to fee who it was, and pulling him out in fuch a fear, that he threw himself at his feet, he knew him, and saluted him Emperour: from thence he carried him to his fellow Souldiers, who were in great rage, and distraction, but could not resolve what was to be done; They put him into his Litter, and (his fervants being fled) carried him upon their Shoulders by turns, into the Camp, in no small apprehension; The people pitying him, as he had been an Innocent going to Execution: Being receiv'd into the Camp, he past that night in the Main-Guard, amongst the Souldiers, with less hopes than assurance of good usage: For the Confuls, the Senate, and the Militia of the City having seised upon the Forum, and Capitol, in order to the re-afferting the common liberty; he was invited to the Senate by the Tribune of the People, to give his concurrence in fuch things, as he should approve, but he writ them word, He was under a force, and desir'd to be excused. The next day the Senate growing cooler in their business, by reason of certain differences and dissentions amongst them, and the continued clamors and instances of the common people, crying out for a fingle person, and that Claudius might be the man; He call'd the Soldiers together in their arms, fuffer'd them to take an Oath of Allegiance to him, and promis'd them fifteen Grand Sefterces a piece, which was the first time any of the Cafars gave Money to the Souldiers, to bribe them to their duties.

11. Being settled in his Empire, the first thing he was

was most follicitous of, was to abolish the Memory of those two days, in which the change and alteration of the Government was fo fervently debated; wherefore he caused an Act of Indemnity and Oblivion to be past for all words, and actions whatfoever in that time; and he observ'd it strictly; contenting himfelf with the Execution of some few Tribunes, and Centurions, who were Complices in the conspiracy against Casus, as well in terrorem to others, as because he was certainly inform'd they had laid their designs against his life also. From these things he betook himself wholly to Offices of Piety and Goodness. The most common, and most facred Oath he us'd at any time, was BY AU-GUSTUS: He gave Order that a Decree should be past for the giving divine honours to his Grandmother Livia, and that she should be allowed at the Greensian Games, a Chariot drawn with Elephants, as Asgustus had before. Besides this, he instituted publick Sacrifices to the Manes or Ghosts of his parents; particularly upon the birth of his Father, Circensian Games every year; and upon his Mothers, a Chariot, with her Image to be drawn thorow the Cirque, and the Surname of Augusta inscrib'd upon it, which was refus'd by his Grandmother. He omitted no occasion of celebrating the Memory of his Brother, to which (besides the ordinary formalities) he added a Greek Comedy, to be acted amongst the rest of the Exhibitions at Naples, where he constituted Judges, and gave the Crowns and Prizes, according to their fentence and determination. Neither did he pass by Antonius without his due honours, and a most grateful mention and remembrance, declaring one time in an Edict, That he did with the more earnestness desire, the Nativity of his Father

ther Drusus might be celebrated, because it was the same day on which his Grandfather Antonius was born also. He finish'd the Marble arch likewise near Pompey's Theatre, which the Senate had order'd to be set up long before, but it had been neglected: And though he rescinded and made Null all Cains his Acts, yet he would not suffer the day of his assassination to be plac'd amongst the sessional days, notwithstanding it was the Commencement of his Authority and

Empire.

12. In assuming, and arrogating to himself, he was always very modest and sparing; he refused the Title of Emperour, he rejected all extravagant honors and celebrated the Nuptials of his daughters, and the nativity of his Grandson in private, with the folemnity of his own family and no more. He never recall'd any person from banishment but by the authority of the Senate, to whom he condescended so far, as to desire their Consent, that he might bring the Captain of his Guards, and the rest of his Tribunes, and the Superiour Officer along with him into the Court, and that they would ratifie and confirm what his Delegats had done, in determining of Causes. He ask'd leave of the Confuls to have the power of establishing Fairs, and Markets, in his own private Estate. In the hearing and examination of Causes, he was frequently prefent, and as diligent as if he had been a Counseller of the Court: when the faid Magistrates exhibited any plays, or fpectacles, he rose up always with the rest of the people, and honoured them with the applauses both of his voice, and his hand. The Tribunes of the people coming one day to attend him, when he was on his Tribunal, he excufed himself to them, that there was not room enough to make

make them sit down; by which manner of deportment he gain'd so much upon the savour and affection of the people in a short time, that upon a bare report of his being slain by surprize, in his journey to Ostia, in great tumult and consternation they ran up and down the Town, calling the Souldiers, Traitors, the Senate, Parricides; and with horrible imprecations, cursing all persons which were accessary to it; nor could they possibly be appealed, till not one, or two, but several Messengers were produc'd at the Rostra, to assure them he was living, and would be amongst them in a short time.

13. Yet for all this he was not free from Conspiracies, and perplex'd not only by the plots of Parties, and particular Men; but with the miseries and calamities of an Intestine War. Once there was an ordinary fellow found at midnight about his Chamber, with a Dagger in his pocket; another time two Gentlemen were apprehended in the street, armed with a Staff-Rapier, and Huntsmans Skeyn, on purpose to attack him, one attending as he was to come out of the Theatre, the other as he was to facrifice in the Temple of Mars. Gallus Afinius, and Statilius Corvinus (the Grandchildren of Pallio and Meffala the Orators) having corrupted feveral of his freed-men and fervants, entred into a Confederacy with them, for the raifing of new troubles, and making an infurrection. The Civil war was commenc'd by Furius Camillus Scribonianus, his Lieutenant in Dalmatia; but in five days time he was deferted by his Legions, who having taken an Oath of sidelity to him, repented immediately, upon an Omen, or Point of Religion; for when they had received Orders to march towards their new Emperour, either by fome strange accident, or rather

ther by Divine influence, it fell out fo, that they could neither adorn their Eagles, nor remove their Enfigns from the places where they had fluck them.

14. Besides his first Consulship, he was Consul four times afterwards; the two foremost, joyntly and immediately one after the other; the rest, with the distance and interval of four years. The last time he was Conful, he continued fix months, the rest but two only; and the third time of his Confulfhip, he was substituted in the place of a Conful that died, (of which there had never been any president in an Emperour before.) He administred Justice with great diligence and assiduity, as well after, as in the time of his Confulship, neither excusing himself on the dayes which were dedicated to him and his, nor fometimes on the folemn Festivals which had been celebrated from all antiquity. He did not alwayes tye himself up to the letter of the Law, but temper'd the feverity, and moderation of their Mulcts, as in his judgment he thought equitable and just. For fuch as before inferiour Judges had lost their Actions, for want of form in their Declarations, he gave them leave to take out new Process, and begin de novo: and on the other fide, if any were convict of more than ordinary fraud or collusion, he strain'd the penalty of the Law, and condemn'd them to the Beafts.

verses, he was very various and unequal; sometimes cautious, and circumspect, otherwhiles precipitate, and rash, and sometimes impertinent, and like a mad-man. As he was reforming the *Decuries* upon a time, one of the Judges having answer'd to his name, and not pleaded his Exemption by the

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number of his Children, he difmis'd him forthwith, as a person too much affected with that dignity. Another being question'd by his Adversaries before Cafar, in a business betwixt him and them, and denying the Cafe to lye any where legally, but before the Ordinary Judge, Cafar commanded him immediately to answer before him; to demonstrate by his own Case, how equitable a Judge he would be in another mans. A woman being unwilling to own her Son, and the proofs of either side not being clear, he adjudg'd her to marry him, and by that award brought her to acknowledge him. He was ordinarily more favourable to fuch as appear'd, and were present in Court, than to those who were abfent, without confidering at all whether their abfence was excufable or not. One crying out publickly, at the the tryal of one indicted for Forgery, Let both his hands be cut off; he commanded the Executioner to be fent for immediately, with his Hatchet and Block. Another being accus'd of an undue and illegal pretence, and usurpation of the Rights of a Citizen, the Advocates on both fides not agreeing whether he was to plead in the habit of a Roman, or a Stranger, he believ'd he had fallen upon a most exact piece of Justice, when he commanded, that his habit should be chang'd, and that he should wear a Cloak when he was accus'd, and a Gown when he made his defence. His impertinence was visible in an affair, where he gave his judgement in writing after this manner; That he was on their side who had spoken the truth. These triflings rendred him contemptible in all places, and to all persons wherever he came. A certain man exculing a Witness, for whom Cafar had fent out of one of his Provinces, and alledging that he could not

not possibly be present in time, Cefar demanding the cause, and he dissembling it for a while, at last refolv'd him, That he was dead at Putcoli. Another giving him thanks that he had permitted an accus'd person to defend himself, added withal, and yet it is usual. And I have been told by antient people, that the Lawyers were wont to abuse his patience fo much, that as he was going down from the Bench, they would not only call him back again, but lay hold of his Gown, and sometimes catch him by the feet; and that no body may think this strange, there was a pitiful Greek Lawyer, who pleading earnestly before him, had the impudence to tell him to his face, i ou pigar i zi magos, Thou art an old man, and a fool into the bargain: And this is most certain, one of the Roman Knights being accus'd of unnatural obscenity with women, (though unjustly) and feeing that his Enemies (not being able to make good their charge) were forc'd to suborn common Strumpets to give in Evidence against him, (whose depositions Claudius receiv'd very readily) he was not contented to upbraid him by his fottishness and cruelty, but threw his Style and Table-book fo heartily at his head, that he cut a great gash in Claudius his cheek.

16. He exercised the Censorship also, (which had been discontinued a long time, from the Censorship of Paulus and Plancus) but with the same inequality, both as to his mind, and success. In his review of the Roman Gentlemen, he dismiss'd a young Spark, who was most notoriously vitious, because his Father testified otherwise, telling him only, That he had a Censor of his own. Another who was infamous for Adulteries, and debauching of Virgins

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Virgins, he only admonish'd, Not to give his youth So much liberty, or else to do it more warily; adding withal, For why must I needs know who is your Mistris? Having at the request of some of his familiar friends, taken off a Note of infamy which he had fet upon ones name, he faid, Tet the blot may remain. A confiderable person, and one of the principal in the Province of Greece, being ignorant of the Latine tongue, he not only put him out of the number of Judges, but took away his freedom in Rome, and reduc'd him to the condition of an Alien. Neither permitted he any body to render an account of his life, by Counfel or Proxy, but every man made his relation with his own mouth, as well as he was able. Several persons he noted with difgrace, (upon a new occasion) and some of them when they thought little of it, because without his knowledge and Pass-port, they had presum'd to go out of Italy. And among the rest, one for no other reason, but for having accompanied a King in his Province: alledging the example of Rabirius Postumus in old time, who for following Ptolomy into Alexandria, (though but to fecure certain fums of money which he owed him) was accus'd of High Treason. He endeavour'd to have disgrac'd several others, but by the great negligence of the Inquisitors, and to his own greater dishonour, they were found innocent: For they whom he accus'd of Cælibacy, want of Children, and Poverty; made it appear that they were Married, had Children, and Estates: And one there was, who being question'd for stabbing himself, stript himself stark naked, and fhew'd him his body to convince him. The most remarkable passages in his Censorship, were these: He caus'd a magnificent Chariot of Silver, wrought very

very richly, and expos'd to sale in the Street called Sigillaria, to be brought, and broke in pieces before his face: He exhibited also twenty Edicts, or Proclamations, in one day; two of them to this purpose: the first, That in respect there was like to be plenty of Grapes, all people should see their Vessels well pitch'd. The other, to let them know, That against the stinging of a Viper, nothing was so good as the juice

of the Yew-tree.

17. He never undertook but one Expedition, and that not very confiderable; but that which put him upon it, was this; The Senate having decreed him Triumphal Ornaments, he imagined that he nour beneath the Majesty of an Emperour, and refolying with himself to undertake some honourable Enterprize, which might entitle him to a just and legitimate Triumph, he chose Great Britain as the most convenient place, as not having been medled with fince Julius Cafar's dayes, and then in a mutiny, because several Fugitives were not delivered up to them. Sailing therefore from Oftia, he had twice like to have been drowned by the violence of a strong Southern wind, once off of Genoa, and the other time near the Stachades, (which are three Islands within the mouth of the Rhofne:) whereupon having chang'd his defign, and travell'd by Land from Marfailles to Calais, he cross'd the Seas, and went from thence into England; from whence he returned without any Battel or Bloodshed, (part of the Island having submitted within few dayes) and within fix months time after his departure, he made his Triumph in Rome, with great splendor and magnificence; and that the Spectacle might be the more honourable by the confluence of people, he not only gave leave to the

the Governours of Provinces to be present at it, but permitted several persons which were banish'd, to return home, on purpose to behold it. Amongst the spoils of his Enemies, he put a Naval Crown upon the top of his Palace, hard by the Civick, in token of his Victory over the Sea, when he cross'd it. His Wise Messalina in her Chariot, follow'd him in his Triumph: Next her were those who had acquired Triumphal Ornaments upon the same occanion: The rest followed on foot in their rich Robes garded with Purple. Crassus Frugi had the priviledge to be on Horse-back, well mounted, with rich Trappings and Caparisons, himself in an embroydered Mantle of State, upon consideration that this was the second time he had had the honour to attend

in a Triumph.

18. He had always a particular care of the City, and especially that it should not be unprovided with Victuals. At what time the Amilian buildings were on fire, he remain'd two nights together in the place where they made the distributions for Suffrages, and observing the Souldiers, and his familiar friends, (who were working hard to quench it) to grow weary, and unable to do any more, he caused the common people to be called together by the Magistrates, from all quarters of the City, and having plac'd Chests of Money before him, he exhorted them to do their utmost, promifing to reward every man according to his defert. The barrenness and sterility of several succeffive years, having caus'd great dearth, he was stopt one day in the Forum by the multitude, and not only reviled and traduc'd, but fo pelted with Crusts of Bread, that he had much ado to escape to his Palace by a Postern-gate. After which he took

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took order, that even in Winter he had his Provifions brought constantly in, giving all encouragement to the Merchants; ascertaining their Profit, by making good any loss they should receive, by ill weather or otherwise; and giving great advantages to such as built Ships for Traffick, according to every mans condition that built them.

19. He dispenc'd with, and exempted them, if Citizens, from the Law Papia Poppaa; he granted them, if Latines, the freedom of the Romans, and allow'd their Wives the Priviledges of them which had four Children; which Constitutions are ob-

ferv'd, and in force at this day.

20. He finish'd several works, which were more magnificent than necessary: The principal of them all were the Water-work which Cains had begun, and a Sluce to let the water out of the Lake Fucinus, and the Haven at Offia; though he was not ignorant that Augustus had refus'd to do one of them, at the importunity of the Marsians, and the other had been several times designed by Julius Cefar, but given over as a thing of too great difficulty and expence. He brought the two Claudian Fountains, (one of them called Caruleus, the other Curtius or Albudinus) as also the new River of Anio, in Pipes or Canals of Stone into the City, and divided them there into feveral large and confiderable Ponds. He attempted the draining of Fucinus too, and with as much hope of Gain, as ambition of Glory, some private persons offering toundertake it at their particular expence, if they might have the ground for their pains, when they had drain'd it. He finish'd the Canal hardly, and with much labour, digging fometimes, and other whiles hewing thorow a Rock for three miles together,

ther, in which work he imploy'd thirty thousand men constantly, for eleven years together. He made the Harbour at Ostia likewise, building a Mole round about it from the right hand to the left, and at the entrance sinking the Vessel in which the great Obelisk was brought out of Agypt, as a soundation for the Piles, upon which he rais'd a high Tower, according to the model of the Pharos at Alexandria, to give light and directions to such

Ships as were at Sea in the night.

21. He gave Largesses frequently to the people; he exhibited feveral magnificent Shews, not only ufual, and in the accustomed places, but some newly invented, and others that had been antiquated and loft, which he then shew'd where never any were feen before. Having rebuilt the Theatre of Pompey, which was burnt, he celebrated certain Games at its dedication, and gave the Signal himfelf out of a Tribunal erected in the Orchestra; having first finish'd his Devotions in the Temple above the Theatre, and coming down amongst the people who were fitting in the Pit, he observ'd there was not one of them arose to salute or applaud him, but every man fate still, without speaking a word. He caused the Secular Sports also to be represented to the people, pretending they had been anticipated by Augustus, and not reserv'd for the due time: Though he writes himself in his own History, That those Games having been intermitted for some time, Augustus by a diligent computation of the year, reduc'd them into order once more: Whereupon the Cryer was laugh'd at, when he invited the people in folemn manner to the Plays, Such as (he faid) never any man had seen before, and such as never any would fee again; because there were some persons then

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then living, which had feen them before, and fome Actors which had acted the same Parts upon the fame occasion. He represented the Circensian Games frequently in the Vatican, interpoling baiting of Wild Bealts, every five Courses: He beautified the Grand Cirque with Barriers of Marble, and Goals of Gold, which in former times were made only of Earth and of Wood, and order'd particular Seats for the Senators, who till that time fate promiscuously among the people. Besides the Courses with Chariots and four Horses, he represented the Warlike divertisements after the manner of the Trojans; and the huntings of Panthers, by a Troop of his Prætorian Horse, under the Command of the Tribunes, and himself at the head of them. He produc'd also Thessalian Horsemen, baiting Wild Bulls about the Circus till they were tired, who then leaping upon their backs, pull'd them down by the Horns, He gave them Prizes, and Combates of Gladiators, in feveral places, and at feveral times: Every year they had one in the Prætorian Camp, but without any baitings, or extraordinary pomp. Another they had perfect and intire in the Septa, and a third in the fame place, which though it was an extraordinary one, held but for a few dayes, and began to be called Sportula, because when he first presented it to the people, he publish'd, That he invited them only to a (hort and sudden Repast, without any preparation at all. He was never better pleas'd, nor in better humour, than at these kind of Exhibitions; in fo much that when pieces of Gold were given to the victors, to express his joy, he would count it amongst the common people with his own hand, and encouraging them to be merry, he would call them (my Masters) and intersperse his discourfe

courfe with Raillerie, and Jests, though to speak truth, they were but flat, and far fetch'd for the most part. As for example, when he promis'd them, who defired a Gladiator called Palumbus, That he would give them him, when he was taken. Another time, having freed one of them from the profession of a Gladiator, at the importunity and Supplication of four of his Children, and observing the multitude to be generally taken with the indulgence, he publish'd a Proclamation immediately, representing to the people, How careful (in common prudence) they ought to be to have Children, seeing what assistance and support they had been even to a Sword-player. In the field of Mars, he gave them the representation of the taking and facking of a Town, after the manner as it happens in a real and veritable War, with the furrender, and fubmission of the Kings of Britain; sitting as President himself in his Paludamentum, or Imperial Coat of Arms. Before he went about to drain the Lake Fucinus, he exhibited a Naval Fight in it, and the Mariners, and fuch as were defigned for the Combate, crying out to him in these words, Farewell, good Emperour, farewell, they who are going to dye Salute you; he answer'd them in their own language, and no otherwise, Avete vos, Fare you well also: by which words imagining he had excus'd them from that Combate, they flood still by confent, and not one of them would fight. Candins inraged with this affront, fitting a long time deliberating with himself, whether he should destroy them all with Fire, or Sword, at length leaping down from his Seat, and staggering most ungracefully about the Banks of the Lake, by threatning partly, U 4

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Partly, and partly by fair words, he prevail'd with them to the skirmilh: In this Spectacle the Sicilian and Rhodian Fleets incountred, confifting of twelve Galleys a piece, and (which was very handsome, and wonderful) a Triton of Silver, arising by an artificial Machine out of the midst of the Lake, sounded a charge on a sudden, and gave the signal to fall on.

22. He not only corrected certain points relating to religious Ceremonies, Military, and Civil manners, and the State and Condition of all Orders of persons, both at home and abroad; but he restored also some that had been disused, and instituted new, where he faw occasion. In the Election of Priests (which was done by Colledges) he nominated no body, till he had taken the Oath. He precifely observ'd as often as there was any Earthquake in the City, to require the Prætor to assemble the People, and proclaim a Festival: and when any unlucky or ominous Bird was feen either in the Capitol, or the Town, he ordain'd publick Prayers, and processions, marching himself before in the quality of High-Priest, after he had made an Harangue to the people from the Roftra, and dismist the throng of Mechanicks and Slaves.

23. He chang'd the Order of the hearings, and pleadings in law, commanding they should be dispatch'd at all times of the year, notwithstanding they had been antiently restrained to particular Months, both in the Winter, and Summer. He ordain'd likewise that the jurisdiction in matters of trust, (which in former times was wont to be annually exercised by the Magistrates, and that only in the City) should be perpetual for the future; and

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he committed the care and cognizance of it to the Governours of his feveral Provinces: He abrogated that Article which Tiberius had inferted into the law Papia Poppaa, importing that men of threefcore years old were not capable of Generation: He decreed that the Confuls (contrary to former Orders) should appoint Tutors to fuch as were Pupils, and under age; and that such as were banish'd the Provinces by the Magistrates, should be interdicted the City of Rome, and all Italy also. Some persons he confin'd, himfelf, and (after an unufual manner) obliged them not to go above three miles from the Town. When any important and extraordinary affair was transacted, he plac'd himself in the Tribunes feat, between the Confuls Chairs; and as to the Pasports or Tickets for travelling, or being abfent, which were wont to be received from the Senate, he would not fuffer the Citizens to be beholding to any body for them, but himself.

24. He granted the Confulary Ornaments, to his Ducenarie Procurators, (whose Salary or Pension extended no further than two hundred Sesterces) and took away the dignity of Knight-hood from such as refused the honour of being of the Senate. Though he had protested in the beginning of his Empire, never to choose any one into the Senate, that was not a Citizen of Rome of three descents: yet he gave the Laticlave, or Senators Robe, to the Son of a Libertine, but it was upon condition, that he should be first adopted by a Gentleman of Rome. Nevertheless apprehending the worst, and to secure himself from the reproach of the People as well as he could, he alledged the Example of Appins Cacus, (from whom he was descended) who in the time of

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his Cenforship, elected the Sons of several Libertines into the Senate; not considering that then, and for fome time after, they were not called Libertines which were manumitted and made free, but the ingenui which were descended from them. He injoyn'd the Colledg of Questors, instead of paving the streets and keeping the Highwayes in repair, to represent a Sword-play to the people. Having taken from them the provinces of Oftia, and Gaule, he restored them to their old admini-Rration in the Treasury of Saturn, which had been executed in the interval by fuch as either were or had been Prætors. He granted the Triumphal Ornaments to Solanus (who was contracted to his Daughter) though he was not arrived at fourteen years old. But he granted that priviledge to elder persons so often and so easily, that in an Epistle to him in the name of all the Legions (which is still extant) they begg'd, That with the Command of the Army, he would confer the triumphal Ornaments upon the Consuls Lieutenants, that they might not seek occasion for War, upon the least pretence in the World. To A. Plantius he decreed an Ovation for his greater honour, went to meet him himself, as soon as he was entred the City, and accompanied him by his fide, both in the Capitol, and back again. Gabinius Secundus having overcome the Chauci, (a People in Germany) he permitted him to assume the surname of Chaucius ever after.

of his Cavalerie, after the Command of a Cohort; he gave that of a Wing, and after that, the Command or Tribuneship of a Legion. He instituted likewise an imaginary Militia, which was called Super-

numerarie,

numerarie, who though abfent, and with the name of Souldiers only; yet they received their pay as the rest. By an Order of the Senate, he prohibited all Souldiers entring into the house of any Senator, upon pretence of faluting them. He confifcated the Estates of such Libertines, as call'd themselves Gentlemen of Rome. Such of them as were ingrateful, and of whom their Patrons complained, he deprived of their freedom, returned to their old servitude again, and declared to their advocates, that they should have as little justice, against their freemen, another time. Understanding that some Masters being weary and impatient of the Cure of their Bondmen at home, fent them over into the Island of Asculapius to recover their healths, he gave Order, That all such as were fent over, should be made free ever after, and never return to their Mafters when they were well; and that if any Master chose rather to kill his flave, than put him forth in this manner he should be guilty of Murder. He commanded also by Edict, That no Traveller should pass through any town in Italy, but on foot, in a Sedan, or in a Litter. Puteoli, and Oftia being subject more than others to fires, he quarter'd a Cohort in each, on purpose to prevent them. He allowed not any stranger to usurp the name of any family in Rome, and cut off the heads of some persons in the Esquiline field, for no other cause, but that they had pretended to the freedom of that City. The Provinces of Achaia, and Macedon, which Tiberius had appropriated to himfelf, he restored to the Senate. He took away their Liberty from the Lycians, by reason of their pernicious differences which were amongst them; and restored it to the Rhodians, upon their repentance, and acknowledgment of their former

former offences. He favoured the Hienfes, as the founders of the Roman Nation, and remitted their tributes for ever; having caus'd anold Epiftle in Greek to be recited, written from the Senate and people of Rome to Seleucus the King, promising him their friendship and alliance upon condition he would exempt the Ilienses from all manner of Taxes or Tributes. He turned the Jews out of Rome, for that they were always in an uproar and tumult upon occasion of the new religion of the Christians. Being taken with the courage and bluntness of the German Embassadors, he permitted them to sit in the Orchestra, for they having been brought into the Popularia or Pit, and observing the Parthian and Armenian Embassadors upon the Theatre, they removed also and went among the Senators; affirming themselves not inferiour to either of the two, either in virtue or quality. He utterly abolished the inhumane religion of the Druids amongst the Gaules, which Augustus had forbidden only to the Citizens of Rome. On the contrary he endeavoured to transfer the Eleusinian Ceremonies from Attica to Rome. He caus'd the Temple of Venus Erycina in Sicily, which time had almost demolish'd, to be repaired out of the publick Treasury of the City. He entred into Leagues, and made his Alliances with forreign Princes, in the Forum, with the antient formalities of facrificing a Sow, and the Proclamation of the Herauld at Arms. But thefe and the rest, and indeed the greatest part of the Actions of his Reign, were managed not so much according to his own mind, but by the fancy and direction of his wife and fervants; he comporting himself always so, as consisted best with their profit or pleasure. 26. He

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26. He was Contracted twice when he was but very young, once to Emilia Lepida, Augustus his great Grand-daughter, the fecond time, to Livia Medullina, furnamed Camilla, as descended of the antient race of Camillus the Dictator. The first he turn'd off a Virgin, because her Parents had offended Augustus, and the other died the very day which was designed for her wedding. After this he married Plantia Urgulanilla whose Father had had the honour of a Triumph, and next Elia Petina, the Daughter of one who had been Conful: Both of them he divorced; Petina, upon a flight and trivial occasion, but Urgulanilla for immodesty, and suspicion of Murder. After all these he took Valeria Messalina to his Wife, the Daughter of Barbatus Meffala, his own Cousin German, who (besides the rest of her flagitious impieties) being found to have married her felf to C. Silius alfo, and a dower confign'd her in the hands of the Auspices, he put her to death, and afterwards in a Speech he made to his Guards, he declared, That since he had been so unfortunate in his Marriages, he would live a single life for the future, and if he continued not in that resolution, he would not refuse to be killed by their very hands. Nevertheless he was not able to contain, but fell in treaty again with Petina within a short time, whom he had put away before, as also with Lollia Paulina, which had been married to C. Cafar. But he fuffered himself to be so carried away by the Caresses, and blandishments of Agrippina, the Daughter of his Brother Germanicus, who having the liberty of kissing, and other dalliances (by reason of her Relation) inamoured him fo, that in the next Senate he fuborned persons to move, That he might be compelled to Marry, (as a thing of great importance to the Common-Wealth)

Wealth) and that according to his Example, all forts of people might be permitted to contrast such Marriages. which till that time were look'd upon as incestuous. After it was decreed, he had scarce patience for a day before his Nuptials were celebrated, but not one person was found to follow his precedent, but one Libertine, and one of the Captains of his Guards, at whose Weddings, himself and Agrippina were both present, for the incouragement of others, as

much as in honour to them.

27. He had Children by three of his Wives, by Orgulanilla, Drusus and Claudia; by Petina, Antonia; by Meffalina, Octavia, and a Son which he call'd Germanicus first, and afterwards Britannicus: Druss he lost at a Town call'd Pompey, before he was fourteen, and by a very strange accident, for being at play with a Pear, and throwing it up into the air, he gap'd to catch it in his Mouth as it came down, which he perform'd fo effectually, that it. fluck fast in his throat, and Choak'd him; to whom not many days before, he had contracted the daughter of Sejanus; which makes that which fome peo. ple report improbable to me, as if he had been cir. cumvented and killed by Sejanus. And for Claudia, though she was born five months before the divorce, and by him put out to Nurse; yet suspecting her afterwards to have been gotten by one of his freemen, call'd Boter, he caus'd her to be ftript stark naked, and laid before her Mothers door: Antonia he married, first to Cn. Pompeius Magnus, and afterwards to Faustus Sy'la, both noble young Gentlemen, and of illustrious families. Ottavia he bestowed upon Nero, his Wives Son, though she had been formerly betrothed to Silanus. Britannicus was born twenty days after he came to the Empire, in the time

an Infant, he us'd to take him frequently in his arms, and in a folemn Oration recommended him to the Souldiers; as likewise he shew'd him many times to the people at their Plays, either holding him in his lap, or placing him before him, whilit they magnified him in their acclamations. Of all his Sons-in-law, he adopted only Nero; to Pompey, and Silanus, he was so far from doing that honour,

that he caus'd them both to be murder'd.

28. Amongst all his Freemen he had the most kindness for Posides the Eunuch; to whom in his British Triumph (amongst the rest of his Warriers, and Gallant men) he presented a Spear without any iron upon it. Neither was his favour much lefs to Falix, to whom he had given the Command of Cohorts, wings of Horfe, and the Government of Judea; which render'd him fo great and confiderable, that he was the Husband of three feveral Queens. To Harpocras he granted the priviledge, to be carried in a Litter up and down the City, and to exhibite Playsto the people. Polybins also was a learned man, and one he made great use of in his Studies; he was fo grateful to him, that he permitted him many times to walk betwixt the two Confuls. But the honours he conferr'd upon Narciffus, his Secretary, and Pallas one of the Auditors of his Exchequer, were fo vast and excessive, that? besides the large rewards which the Senate decreed them upon his recommendation, he vouchfafed them the Ornaments both of the Questors, and Prætors; besides all which, he gave so great a latitude to their Extortion and Rapine, that complaining one day his Coffers were exhausted, he was answer'd very handsomly, He might be rich and

and abound too, if his two Freed-men would but take

him into their society.

29. Being thus excessively addicted to these kind of people, and to his Wives, he acted more like a Servant than a Prince; disposing of honours, Armies, Immunities, and Punishments, as they were fuitable with their interests or designs; conferring them for the most part without any consideration, I shall not make a particular enumeration of his impertinencies, as of his Liberalities revok'd, his Judgments revers'd, his grants of Offices forged, or openly chang'd. Appius Silamus, his Brother-inlaw, and the two Julia, one of them the Daughter of Drusus, and the other of Germanicus, he caus'd to be executed, without permitting them to plead toa Charge, which no body could prove against them: Neither far'd it any better with Cn. Pompeins, who married his eldest Daughter, nor L. Silanus, who was contracted to his younger. Pom-peius he caus'd to be slain, in the embraces of a young Lad he most ardently affected; and Silanus having been constrained to surrender his Prætorship, about the latter end of December, was kill'd in the beginning of the year, upon the very day on which Claudius and Agrippina were married. He put to death five and thirty Senators, and above three hundred Roman Gentlemen, with fo much ease and unconcernment, that one of his Captains bringing him word, That according to his Commands Such a Consulary man was executed; he denied he had given any such Order, yet approved well enough of what they had done; his Freed-men affirming, the Souldiers had done well, in running of their own accord to the vindication of their Emperour. What he did at the Marriage of Messalina, and Silius her Adulterer,

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Adulterer, is above all credit and belief; for he figned the Writings himself for the settlement of her Dower, induced as if they were but dissembled, and that he might thereby avert, and transferr the Calamities, which certain Prodigies portended

to hang over his head.

30. He wanted not a Majesty, and Comliness in his person, either sitting or standing, but especially as he was asleep: His stature was tall, but not slender, his complexion and hair white, which gave him the air and appearance of a comely old man; his neck round and plump: But his legs were not answerable, being scarce strong enough to support his body. As he was doing any thing, either seriously, or remisly, many things disparaged him: An unbecoming laughter, an ungraceful way in his anger, soaming at the mouth, and running at his nose, which rendered him exceedingly deformed; besides a stammering in his speech, and a continual trembling of his head, especially if he were in any action, though never so small.

31. Formerly he used to be very sickly, but after he was Emperour, he was never ill, but once of a pain in his stomach, which took him so violently, that if we may believe himself, he had once a mind to remove his torment, by cutting

his ownthroat.

32. He was a great lover of Feasting, made many Entertainments, large and magnificent, and in the most spacious places of the City, in so much that many times he had six hundred Guests together at his Table; amongst the rest he had one Feast upon the Sluce of the Lake Fucinus, where he had like to have been drowned, by a sudden impetuosity of the water, which brake out the petu-

edly. At all his Treatments his Children were conflantly prefent, and eat at his Beds-feet with other
young Persons of Honour of both Sexes, according
to the custom of old. One of his Guests, supposed
to have made bold with a Cup of Gold, and carried
it away, he invited him again the next day, and
made him be contented with an Earthen Pot. It
is reported likewise that being told of a modest
person who had like to have kill'd himself with
retention, he had thoughts once of publishing
an Edict, whereby he would make it lawful
to break wind at the Table, and to ease themselves of any statulency in any place whereso
ever.

33. He had so exorbitant an appetite, that he would eat or drink at all times, and in all places: As he was fitting in Justice one day in the Palace of Augustus, being surpriz'd with the smell of a good Dinner, that was preparing in the Temple of Mars (which was the next house) for the Priests called Salis, he quitted the Tribunal immediately, went up, fate down amongst them, and laid about him as heartily as the best. He seldom went from the Table, but sweating, and with his belly fo full, that having laid himfelf prefently upon his back in order to a Nap, he gap'd fo wide in his fleep, that they usually put a feather down his throat to make him difgorge. His fleeps were but thort, for the most part waking before Midnight; by which means he flept sometimes so heartily in the Court, that the Chancellors and Advocates; straining their voices on purpose, had much ado to make him hear! His propenfity to women was extravagant, but to the other Sex he had no inclination. He plaid at Dice very often, and was fo affected

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affected with that recreation, that he writ a Book. of the use of it. He order'd and adapted his Chariot in fuch manner, that he could play commodiously, and without confusion, as he travelled upon the

road.

134. How Sanguinary he was in his Nature, appear'd in fmall things as well as in great. The torments of the Question, and the punishment of Parricides, he caus'd to be publick, and was always prefirst himfelf. Being at Tibur upon a time, he took a fancy to fee an Execution after the antient Mode, and there being no Executioner to be found, when the delinquents were faltned to the fake, he fent for one to Rome, and flaid upon the place till night with great patience, in expectation of him : In all Speciacles of Gladiators, whether exhibited by him felf or any other person, if any of the Fencers happened to fall down, let it be by what accident it would, he commanded him to be killed but especially if they were of the Retiaris, because then he could feethern, and have the pleasure to bok upon their faces at the very moment they expired. Two Combatants being fallen down dead in his presence of the wounds they had given to offe another, he commanded both their Weapons to be forg'd into little Knives, for his own private and ordinary use. He took fo great pleasure in the Combats against Beasts, which were perform'd in the morning, and fuch other foorts as were reprefented about noon, that he would get up by break of day to go to a Spectacle, and continue there with patience till the people came back from dinner. Besides fuch as were appointed to fight, upon any flight or fudden occasion, he would fet the Labourers and Carpenters to engage in Combaty if any of their O pluos

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peras or Machines had not taken effect. Once also he turn'd in a Nomenclator in fuch haft, he allow'd him not time enough to pull off his Gown, though he was to fight with the Wild Beafts for his life.

35. But to nothing was he fo much subject as to timorousness and distrust: though he was a great pretender, and (as I have faid before) much affect. ed with his own civility from his coming to the Empire, yet he never durit come to any feast without his Guards about him with their Lances, and waiting at the Table instead of his Servants. He never made a visit to any one that was sick, till the Chamber was fearch'd to the very Boulster of the Bed. He fuffer'd no man to come near him, upon the score of falutation or otherwise, before his searchers had been with him, who spared no body, and some times were very rude and fevere in their Scruting It was a long time before he could be perswaded to excuse the Women (and all such persons as wore Gowns (as the Pratextati) whether Boys or Girles) from being fearch'd in that manner, or to permit the Glerks or Secretaries to come near him, with fo much as a Stile, or Pen-knife in his pocket. In the time of the Civil troubles, Camillus knowing very well it was not necessary to be at the charge of a War, to make him afraid, he fent him a Hectoring Letter full of injurious Comminations, commanding him to give up his Empire, and betake himself to a private and retired life; and fo far was he terrified with it, that he affembled the principal perfons of his Council, to deliberate, whether he should relign to Camillus, or not.

36. Upon a bare and idle report of a Confpiracy against him, he was so pitifully frighted, nothing perag

could

could ferve his turn; but he would lay down his Crown: A person (as I have mentioned before) being apprehended near him with a Dagger in his pocket, as he was bufie at a Sacrifice, he was fo alarm'd, that he assembled the Senate immediately, and having lamented the deplorableness of his Condition, (who could not think himself safe any where, if he were in danger at the Altar) he beg'd their refentment, and appear'd not in publick of a long time afterward. Nor was it any Sense or Concernment for the dishonours Me salina had done him, which extinguish'd the ardent passion he had for her, and made him defert her; but a certain fear and apprehension that the Adulterer Silius would pretend alfo the Empire; which imagination had fuch an influence upon him, that in a most pusillanimous and abject manner he fled away to the Camp, and his Consternation was so great, he spake not a word all the way he was going, more than frequently to ask, whether he was still Emperour, or not.

37. There was no fuspicion so light, no informer so inconsiderable; but upon the least scruple suggested, he was upon his Guard, and thought of nothing but revenge. A certain person who had a suit in law depending before him, having whisper'd to him as he was faluting him, that he dream'd (the night before) he saw him killed, and a while after, his adversary delivering a Petition to Claudius, he went to him, and told him that was the Murderer he had seen, whereupon he was apprehended, and carried immediately to Execution, as if he had been convicted. In the same manner it is reported, that Appius Silanus was made away; for Messalina and Narcissis having sworn his destruction, they contrived that Narcissis should rush into Claudius his

Chamber one morning by break of day, as one frighted almost out of his wits, and that he should tell him, he dream'd that Appins would that night attempt to murder him; and that Messalina being as it were astonish'd with the relation, should intimate very formally, that indeed she also had had the same dream for several nights together: A while after, Silanus having (by the artistice of his Enemies) being told he was to wait upon the Emperor, and coming suddenly in, it confirm'd his credulity so, that he made him be taken into Custody, and carried to Execution out of hand: The next day, representing the whole story to the Senate, he gave his Freed-manthanks, for that he had been

careful of his fafety even in his fleep.

38. Being confcious of his own natural inclination to hastiness and passion, he excus'd them both in a publick Edict, and promis'd, That the one should be innocent and but short, and the other never without reason. Another time, having taken it very ill of the Inhabitants of Oftia, that knowing him to be abroad upon the Tiber, they fent none of their Barges to attend him; having rebuk'd them feverely, as though it had been done in contempt, and they had divested him of his Prerogative, on a fudden he recollected and pardon'd them, upon the least satisfaction. Some who had chosen an ill time to make their addresses to him in publick, he thrust back with his own hand. He banish'd a Scribe who had been Quæstor, and a Senator that had been Prætor, without any hearing, though they were both of them innocent; the first, for having been too bold with him in his expressions, when he was but a private person; the other, for that in his Ædileship he had fined certain of his Tenants, for

for felling boil'd Meats contrary to the Statute, and whipp'd one of his Bailiffs that interpos'd: And as if their personal punishment were not enough, he took away the Coertion and Authority of the Ædiles over the Victualling-houses. Nor could he contain himself from publishing his own folly, which (as he fays himfelf, in some of his little Orations) he counterfeited in Caius his time, on purpose to escape his cruelty; and that without fo doing, he had never come to the station he was then in. But he could never make the world believe it, till a while after there was put fortha Book intituled, The Resurrection of Fools, and the Argu-

ment was, That no man counterfeits folly.

39. Amongst the rest of the things which were admirable in him, his incogitancy and forgetfulness were two: Having caus'd Messalina to be put to death, and going to Dinner a while after, he ask'd Why his Wife did not come to Dinner also. Several of those persons which were Executed by his Order, he would invite frequently the next day either to Dinner, or Dice; and as if they had been tedious, he would fend to them again, and upbraid them by their sloth. Refolving to marry Agrippina, against all principles both of Honour, and Religion, he gave out upon all occasions, That she was his Daughter, his Nursling, and one that was born and brought up as it were in his bosome. Designing likewise that Nero should bear the name of his Family, as if it had not been blameable enough for him to adopt his Son-inlaw, his own being adult, he publickly declared, That never any one had been adopted into the Family of the Claudii before.

40. He was oftentimes fo careless and negligent both of his words and his actions, that he neither knew nor consider'd what he said himself, nor to whom, nor in what time or place. When they were in discourse in the Senate one time, about the Butchers and Vintners, he cry'd out before he was aware, And which of you is it that can live without a Morfel? and then told them an impertinent story, of the great number of antient Taverns, from whence he had his Wine a long time ago, As an irrefutable reason, why he gave his voice for a perfon who stood Candidate for the Quastorship, he declared amongst other of his arguments, That being very ill one time, the Father of that person had given him cold water very opportunely which did him a great deal of good. A woman being brought in as a witness before the Senate also, he told them, This was my Mothers Woman d'Attour, and drest her, but she look'd upon me as her young Master alwayes, which I intimate the rather, because I have some at home will not own me to be fo. Again, the Inhabitants of Offia having presented him one time with a Petition, as he was fitting publickly in Court, he cry'd out in a great passion, That he knew no reason he had to oblige them, and that he was as free as any man elfe. These words he had usually in his mouth, and as it were every hour of the day, What? dost thou take me to be a Cokes? and Speak and Strike? besides many other weak and idle expressions, beneath the reputation of a private person, much less of a Prince, so far from being illiterate, that he had been a hard Student in the liberal Sciences, and was arriv'd at no fmall perfection in Oratory.

41. When he was but a Youth, he undertook to write a History by the perswasion of Titus Livius, and the assistance of Sulpicius Flavus, which the first time he recited, and committed it publickly to

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the judgment of his Auditors; he scarce could read it over, but put himself often out; For it happen'd some of the Benches breaking by the weight and corpulence of a person that was there, the whole Company fell a laughing, but after that was over, and all the rest were recollected, he could not but remember the accident by fits, and fall out again into a laughter in the midst of his reading, which was no fmall interruption to them both. During the time of his Empire he writ feveral things and caused them to be recited by a Reader very often: His History he began after the death of Cafar the Dictator, which he divided into two books; and the passages after the civil pacification, into forty and one, enlarging himself more upon that subject than upon theo. ther, in respect that his Mother and Grandmother had often times rebuk'd him, and forwarn'd him of taking of too much liberty, in his description of those days. He writ also feven Volums of his own life, with less prudence than Elegance. As also a defence of Cicero against the writings of Gallus, which was learned enough. Besides this, he invented three Letters. and added them (as necessary) to the antient Alphabet; and having publish'd a book to recommend them to the people, when he was a private person, it was no hard matter for him to obtrude them upon them when he was advanc'd to the Empire. And that kind of writing, with those Characters is at this day to be feen in feveral Records and Journals, as also in the Titles and inscriptions of works.

42. For the Greek Language he had so particular a value, that a certain stranger discoursing in Greek and Latine, he told him, You being skilful in both our Languages, and in his recommendation of Achaia to the Senate, he declar'd, That province was very grave.

ful and agreeable to him, by reason of their Commerce, and Community of their studies. He answer'd Embassadors many times in that language, and that with a long and continued Oration: many times he made use of Verses out of Homer, as he sate upon his Tribunal; and whensoever he had satisfied his revenge upon any Enemy or Traitor, when the Tribune or Officer came to him, according to custom, for the word, he seldom gave any other than this in Greek;

When one is injur'd first, 'tis like a Man To take his Vengeance any way he can.

In short, he wrote some Histories in Greek also, as the History of the Tyrrhenian affairs in twenty books, and the History of the Carthaginians in eight. Upon which consideration, and to make them the more famous, he added a new School to the old one that was at Alexandria before, and calling it by his own name, he ordain'd that his Tyrrhenicoon, or book of the Tuscan affairs, should be read in one of them, and his Charchedoniacoon, in the other successively, and that each of them should be read out in their turns.

43. Towards the latter end of his life, he gave evident tokens that he repented of his Marriage with Agrippina, and his adoption of Nero. For having condemned a woman for adultery, upon a certain time, and his freed men applauding his Justice very highly, he told them, That is was his Fortune to have all his Marriages unclean, but not unpunish'd. And his Son Britannicus presenting himself to him a while after, he embrac'd him with more than ordinary kindness, bad him Grow apace, and he would give him an account of all that he had done: adding in Greek to this purpose, that it was his love which incited him; and designing

figning to give him the Virile Robe (though he was too small in respect of his Stature) he added these words, That the People of Rome might at last have a Cæsar indeed.

44. It was not long after this but he made his Will, and attested it by the hands and seals of all the Magistrates, but before he could proceed any further in the advancement of his Son, he was prevented by Agrippina, who was already tormented by the remorfe of her own Conscience, and persecuted by informers, which accus'd her of several crimes besides this. It is agreed by all people, he died by poison, but as to the place or person by whom it was given, they are not fo unanimous. Some fay it was the Eunuch Halorus his Taster, which poison'd him, as he was eating among the Priests in the Capitol. Others will have it, That in a feast at his own house Agrippina knowing he was a great lover of Mushromes, prefented him with one that was poisoned. Nor are the Opinions less uncertain, upon the other circumstances of his death. Some report that he was taken speechless, as soon as he had taken the poifon, and that continuing all night in great torment, he died towards the morning. Others affirm, that he fell afleep as foon as he had taken it, and that his meat rising in his stomach, he brought up all; whereupon they redoubled his poison, but whether it was given in a Jelly, or Broath, under pretence of fortifying his fromach, or by Clyfter, to give him ease by that evacuation, is uncertain.

45. His death was kept private, till all things were put in order for the establishment of his Successor. Vows were publickly made for his recovery, as if he had been but sick only: and pretending he desir'd to divert himself that way, his Comedians

were call'd for, to heighten the diffimulation. He departed the thirteenth of October, in the Conful-ship of Asinius Marcellus, and Acilius Aviola, in the sixty fourth year of his age, and the fourteenth of his Empire. His Obsequies were performed with Magnificence suitable to an Emperour, attended in a pompous and solemn Procession by the Magistrates, and plac'd in the number of the Gods; which honour being taken away, and abolish'd by Nero his successor, was after some time restor'd to

· him by Vespasian.

46. The most remarkable presages of his death, were a Blazing-star, or Comet, which appear'd in the air; the splitting of his Father Drusus his Monument, with Thunder and Lightning; and besides thefe, the dying of feveral Magistrates that year, of all Orders and Degrees. But there are probable arguments, that he was neither ignorant of his approaching death, nor endeavour'd to dissemble it; For in his defignation of Confuls, he ordained none of them to continue beyond the month in which he died; The last time he was present in the Senate, having in a long discourse most earnestly exhorted his children to agree, he humbly recommended the age of them both, to their care and protection; and in his last Judicial Session upon the Tribunal, he declared several times, That he was now arrived at the end of his Mortality. The people which heard him, abominating the Expression, supplicated the Gods for the Continuation of his health.

WERD CLATTALL C. J. A.



## NERO CLAUDIUS CASAR



# Cains Suctonius Tranquillus, OF THE TWELVE CÆSARS.

# SIXTH BOOK,

Being the

## LIFE

## NERO CLAUDIUS CESAR,

Emperour of ROME.

ous Families, the Calvini, and the Ænobarbi; the Ænobarbi derived both their Original, and Surname, from Lucius Domitius, and upon this occasion: As he was returning out of the Countrey upon a time, there appear'd to him two young men of extraordinary beauty

and stature, commanding him to acquaint the Senate and People of Rome, with a Victory they had obtain'd, of which as yet they had no certainty: and as an evidence of their divinity, stroaking him gently on the cheeks, they chang'd the colour of his hair, from black into a kind of reddish or Copper colour: which miraculous mark continued to his posterity, and fince that time the greatest part of them have had red beards. Having been honoured with feven Confulships, two Triumphs, and two Cenforships, and having been receiv'd into the number of the Patritii, they remain'd all of them with the fame Surname, without assuming any other before it, besides Cheius and Lucius, which they varied and diverfifyed very confiderably, using either of them fometimes for three persons together, and then again changing them alternatively one after another. The three first Ainobarbi, were called Lucii, the three subsequent, Chei; the rest called themselves Lucii, or Cnei, by turns one after another. And here I think it will not be amifs, to give fome short representation of the manners and qualifications of feveral of his Predeceffors, to evince and clear it out to the World, that Nero had degenerated fo far from the Virtue of his Ancestors, that he feem'd to have retain'd nothing but their Vice.

2. I shall begin therefore with Cneius Domitius, his Great-Great-Grandsather: Whilst he was Tribune of the people, being disgusted by the High Priests, because they had elected another person into his Fathers place, and past him by, he transferred the right of Subrogating Priests (which belong'd formerly to their Colledges) to the People. In his Consulship, having Conquer'd the Allobroges, and

and Arverni, he rode through his Province mounted in great state upon an Elephant, attended by a multitude of Souldiers, as in a folemn Triumph. Upon this Domitius it was, that Licinius Crassus the Orator had this expression, No wonder if he had a beard of Brass, whose face was of Iron, and his heart of Lead, His Son being Prætor afterwards, accus'd Cainty Cafar (as foon as he was out of his Confulship) before the Senate, it being the common opinion he had exercis'd that Office contrary to the Laws, and auspicia; afterwards being made Conful himself, he used his utmost endeavours to fetch back Cafar from the Gaules, where he had the Command of the Army, and having prevail'd to be named his Succeffor, by those of his own faction, he began the Civil War, and was taken prisoner at Corfinium; being fet at liberty, he came to Marfeilles, which at that time was closely belieg'd, and confirm'd the Garrison very much by his arrival; but he deferted itafterwards on a fudden, and was kill'd at length at the Battle of Pharfalia. He was a man fierce and rigid in his nature, but not over-constant in his resolutions. The extremity of his affairs having reduc'd him into a despair of their growing better, he was fo fearful of that death which fo often he defired, that having taken poison to dispatch himself, he repented of what he had done, took an Antidote to bring it up again, and infranchis'd his Physician, for having prepar'd and temper'd the poison so on purpose, that it could do him no great harm. Pompey the Great confulting with his friends, in what manner he should comport himself with fuch as flood Neuter, and fided not at all, he was the only man which advis'd him to treat them as Enemies.

3. This Domitius left a Son, worthy without doubt to be preferr'd before all the rest of his race : who being condemn'd by the Law Pedia, as privy to the murder of Cefar, (though he was really innocent) betook himself to Cassius and Brutus, who were his Kinfmen, and continued with them till their deaths; after which he retain'd the Command of the Fleet, which they had given him long before, and augmented it in spight of all his difasters; till at last of his own accord, when his whole party was irrecoverably ruin'd, he furrendred it to M. Antonius, who receiv'd it as an extraordinary obligation. In fine, he was the only perfon condemn'd by that Law, who was re-admitted into his Native Countrey, and advanc'd to the most confiderable honours. A while after, the fire of Civil diffention breaking out again, he was made Lieutenant to the faid Antonius; who having rendred himfelf unacceptable to fome confiderable perfons, by his infamous amours and dalliances with Cleopatra, they offer'd to supplant Antonius, and give the Command to Domitius in his flead; but not daring either to refuse or accept it confidently, by reason of an unexpected fit of sickness, he retired to Augustus, and died within sew dayes; Antonius asper-sing him, that he had deserted his party for nothing, but that he was not able to endure the absence of his Mistris Servilia Nais.

4. This Domirius was the Father of him, who was known afterwards to be the buyer of the Goods and Chattels which Angustus left by his Will; and was eminent for his dexterity in managing of Chariots, as well as for his Triumphal Ornaments, which he acquired by his magnanimity and conduct in the German Wars. But his vices and passi-

ons gave no small diminution to his Glory, for he was most notoriously arrogant, prodigal, and cruel. When he was but Adilis, he forc'd Lucius Plancus (though he was Censor) to give him the place. In his Consulship and Prætorship he produc'd several Knights of Rome, and Ladies of honour, to act Farces, and obscure enterludes publickly upon the Stage. He exhibited baiting of wild Beasts, not only in the Cirque, but in every quarter of the City; and Sword-plays with such cruelty, that Augustus having admonish'd him privately in vain, he was necessitated to restrain him by an Edict on pur-

pose.

s. Being married to Antonia the Elder, he had a Son by her, worthy indeed to be the Father of Nero, as one that was detestable in every part of his life: in his youth he accompanied C. Cefar in a journey he made into the Levant, in which he flew one of his freedmen; for no other cause, but for refusing to drink as much as he commanded; being discharg'd therefore from the Company of his friends, he led his life with no less exorbitance than before; for in the Via Apia he drove his Chariot over a boy on purpose, and trode him to death; and in Rome, in the middle of the Forum, he pull'd out a Gentlemans eye for reprehending him with more than ordinary liberty. His perfidiousness was so great, that he not only defeated the Goldsmiths of the prices of fuch Commodities as they had bought; but in his Prætorship he defrauded the victors in the Chariot Courfes, of the rewards of their Victory; for which tricks his Sifter having merrily rebuk'd him, and the Mafters of the Factions made their folemn complaints, he ordain'd, That for the future the said prices and rewards should be paid them forthwith. About the latter

ter end of the Reign of Tiberius he was accus'd of Treason, Adulteries and incest with his Sister Lepida, but he escap'd his punishment by the alteration of the times, and died at Pyrga of a Dropsie, leaving Nero his Son by Agrippina the Daughter of Germanicus.

6. Nero was born at Antium on the fifteenth of December, about Nine Months after the death of Tiberius, he came into the World fo exactly at fun rifing, that his beams may be faid to have touch'd him before they fell upon the earth. Amongst the many ill prefages which happen'd upon his Birth(of which Several were very dreadful) his Father Domitius his Expression was look'd upon as one; who being congratulated by his Friends upon the birth of his Son, made answer, That there could nothing proceed from Agrippina and him, but what was detestable, and pernitions to the Commonwealth: Of the same future infelicity, there was an evident fign also on the day he was named; for Caligula being defired by his Sifter to give the Child what name he thought good; the Emperour fixing his Eyes upon Claudius (his Unkle by whom when he was Emperour afterwards, Nero was adopted) declared he gave him his name, which he did more in merriment than earnest; and yet A. grippina took it exceedingly ill, Claudius at that time being the only laughing-stock of the Court. When he was three years old he loft his Father, who lefthim his heir but in a third part, and it had been well if he could have received all that: but his Coheir Cains having feized upon the Goods, and his Mother being banish'd, he was reduc'd to that condition, he was forc'd to be brought up in the house of Lepida his Aunt, under the Pædagogy of a Dancing-Maiter, and a Barber. But Claudius arriving at the Empire, he not only recovered his Fathers Estate, but was very

very much enrich'd by the inheritance of Crispus Paffienus his Father-in-law; His Mother likewife being recall'd, and having wrought her felf into the favour of the Emperour, he became so considerable, that he gave occasion of Jealousie to Massalina the Wife of Claudius: infomuch that it was generally reported she imployed several persons to strangle him as he was afleep after dinner; supposing him to have defigned himself a Competitor with Britannicus; and it was added to the story that they were diverted from their Enterprize by a Dragon, whichcoming fuddenly from under his Pillow, frighted them away. That which gave foundation to this Fable, was, That there was found about his Bolfter the reliques of a Serpent, which by his Mothers command were inclos'd in a Bracelet of Gold, and wore along time afterwards upon his right arm; at length abhorring any Monument or Memorial of his Mother he threw them away, but would gladly have had them again in his fubfequent extremities, but could not recover them.

7. Before he was yet arriv'd at the fourteenth year of his age, he made himself eminent in the Circensian Games, and especially in a Combat a la Troyenne. At eleven years old he was adopted by Claudius; and Annaus Seneca (who was a Senator at that time) had the care of his institution; it is reported that Seneca dreamt the next night, he was teaching Catigula; which Nero made good in a short time, difcovering the same marks of inhumanity and ill nature, in the first experiments he could give; for taking it with great indignation that after his adoption, his Brother Britannicus faluted him by the name of Enobarbus as he was wont to do before; he endeavour'd to perswade his Father, he was suppositi-Y 3 tious

tious and a Changling. His Aunt Lepida being in affliction, be bare testimony against her in open Court, to gratifie his Mother, who was the person which profecuted her feverely. Being call'd to the Bar, at the first pleading he made, he promised the people a Congiary, or Dole, and a Donative to the Souldier. Having proclaim'd a Tournament, he rid himself to the Lists at the head of the Prætorian Cohorts, with a Shield in his hand; afterwards he gave his Father thanks folemnly in the Senate, and being Conful, made a Latine Oration in behalf of the Bonomians, and another in Greek for the Rhodians, and the Inhabitants of Ilium. He began to exercise a Jurisdiction, as Governour of the City, upon the Holy-dayes of the Latines; in which he fate publickly to hear Causes, receiving and discusting feveral Pleas and Declarations with great patience, which were brought into the Court by the most considerable Advocates of the City; not formal and short ones, as is customary, but most important, and many which were earnestly moved; which was contrary to an express Edict of Claudius. A while after he married Octavia, and exhibited the divertisement of wilde Beasts, and Circensian Games, for the prosperity of Claudius.

8. On the feventeenth year of his age, the death of Clandius being publickly known, (having chofen the most propitious hour of the day to make his entrance upon the Empire, all the rest of that day having been dire and portentous) he went forth amongst his Guards: and being saluted Emperour by them before the stairs of his Palace, he was carried in a Litter into the Camp, and from thence having made a short Speech to the Souldiers, he hurried away in great haste to the Senate, where

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he continued till Evening, and refus'd none of the immense honours accumulated upon him, but the Title of Pater Patria, Father of his Countrey, and that

in confideration of his youth.

o. Beginning his Empire in this manner, with a pretended oftentation of Piety, he made a most magnificent Funeral for Clandins, prais'd him in a folemn Oration, and Confecrated him when he had done. He perform'd great honours likewise to the memory of his Father Domitius: He gave his Mother an absolute Jurisdiction in all things, both publick and private: The first day of his Government, to the Officer that attended him for the word, he gave only this, Optima Mater, my best Mother; and was many times afterwards feen publickly with her in the same Litter: He establish'd a Colony at Antium, in which he plac'd feveral of his Veteran Souldiers, drawn out of his Prætorian Cohorts, under the Command of the most wealthy of his Officers, after he had forc'd them to remove their habitations, where he made a Harbour also at an incredible expence.

testimony of his good Nature, he declar'd he would manage his affairs, and govern his people, according to the Model of Augustus, and omit no occasion of shewing his liberality, clemency, and courteste. Great Impositions he either took away quite, or reduc'd them to a competent moderation. The rewards due to Informers against such as transgress'd against the Law Papian, he retrench'd to a fourth. He distributed 400 Sesterces apiece to each of the people: To such of the Senators as were poor, and illustriously descended, he allow'd annual Salaries, to the value sometimes of 500000 Sesterces, besides

a gratuity of Corn, which he allow'd monthly to his Prætorian Bands. Being defired one day to fet his hand to a Warrant, for the Execution of a condemn'd person, What would I give (faid he) that I knew not how to write or read? He was of fo happy a memory, he faluted all the Orders of the City particularly by their names: The Senate giving him thanks for the justness of his Administration, he reply'd with fingular modesty, Let that alone till I delerve it. He was fo much inclining to Popularity, that he admitted the common fort of people to his Exercises in the Field of Mars. He declaimed in publick many times; He recited Verses of his own making, and that not only privately in his own House, but publickly upon the Theatre, and with fo general an applause, a solemn Service and Procession was appointed in honour of them, and some of them decreed to be writ in Letters of Gold, and dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus.

11. He gave them the diversion of fundry forts of Shows, as the Juvenal, and Circensian Games, Stage-plays, and Sword-fights, and others: in the Juvenal pastimes, he admitted old Consularies, and Matrons; in the Circensian Games, he appropriated a place for the Roman Knights, in which they were private, and apart from the rest of the people; and exhibited Courfes, with Chariots drawn by four Camels. Such Plays as were instituted for the Eternity of the Empire, were by his order call'd Maximi, in which persons of both Orders and Sexes acted their parts: A Knight of most eminent quality in the City, pranc'd down a steep descent upon an Elephant. There was acted also a Roman Comedy, compos'd by Afranius, and intituled Incendium, in which permission was granted to the Actors,

Actors, to rifle the House as it was burning, and to take to themselves what of the Houshold-stuff they could catch. During these pastimes, there was not a day but he scatter'd a thousand Tickets, for all sorts of things amongst the people, as for Birds of several kinds, Corn, Cloths, Gold, Silver, Gems, Pearl, Pictures, Slaves, Horses, and tamed Beasts; and at last he gave them Ships, Houses, Islands, and Estates, according to the Billets they produc'd, in which the names of all those things were written.

12. He beheld these Plays from the most eminent part of the Theatre: He built a Theatre of Wood in a years time, not far from the Field of Mars, in which he prefented them with Sword-fights, but without fuffering any body to be kill'd, nay though he were a Malefactor. He brought into the Lift 400 Senators, and 600 Roman Gentlemen, (of good quality and Estates) to fight at sharp, besides others (not inferiour to them) to bait the wild Beasts, and prostitute themselves to the most abject Offices of the Stage. He exhibited in like manner a Naval Fight upon Salt-water, with great Beafts fwimming in it; and infranchis'd feveral young Gentlemen which were Strangers, for having perform'd their parts handsomely in the Pyrrhick In one of these Balls, by most admirable design, it was contriv'd that a Bull should leap Pasiphae, who was hidden in a Machine of Wood in the shape of a Cow; and it was acted so well, that many of the Spectators believ'd it was really fo indeed. In the representation of Icarus, he which personated him, at the very first attempt of his flying, fell down fo near the Emperours Box, that he was besprinkled with his blood. He sate

as President very feldom at these Plays; his manner was most usually to peep thorow a kind of a Lettice, but at last the whole Gallery was open'd, and he beheld them there. He was the first which ever instituted Quinquennial Contests, or Prizes in Rome, after the Cultom of the Greeks, and they were of three forts, Musick, Wrastling, and Horsemanship, which were called Neronia. Having dedicated his Baths, and a place peculiar for all forts of Exercifes, he allow'd Oyl for the Senators and Gentlemen gratis, ordaining persons for Judges which had been Confuls, to be elected by Lot, and fit in the place of the Prætors. After this he came down into the Orchestra amongst the Senators; and the Crown which was prepar'd for the prize and reward of him that should transcend in Latine Prose, and Verse, (for which the most eminent persons of the City contended) being by their confent adjudg'd to him, he accepted very willingly. The flattery of the Judges having presented him with a Harp, he adored it, and commanded it to be carried to the Statue of Augustus. On the day in which the Gymnick Games were celebrated in the Septa, he was shared the first time, (against the great Sacrifice call'd Buthysia) and having caus'd his Beard to be inclos'd in a Golden Box, fet richly about with pretious Stones, he confecrated it to Jupiter Capitolinus; and because the Priests of Ceres at Olympia, were allow'd to fee the spectacles of Wrastling, he invited the Vestal Virgins to see his Champions.

put (and not improperly) the entrance of Tiridates King of Armenia into the City. The day defigned for his reception, by publick Edict was put

off

off by reason of ill weather for some time; but at length it proving fair, his Guards were plac'd about the Temples in the Forum, in their Aims, and he appear'd fitting upon a Throne of Ivory before the Rostra, in his Triumphal habit, in the midst of his Military Enfigns and Banners. In this pomp and formality he receiv'd Tiridates, who threw himself immediately at his feet, but he took him up again with his right hand, and kifs'd him: after which having taken off his Tiara, he put the Diadem upon his head, and a person which had been Prætor being appointed to interpret, he pronounc'd aloud to the people whatever Tiridates faid. After which the Emperour brought him into the Theatre, where Tiridates having made new Complements of fubmission and humility, he took him and plac'd him on his right fide next to himself: Whereupon he was faluted Emperour; and having caus'd a Crown of Laurel to be carried into the Capitol, he shut up the Temple of Janus, as a token of universal peace and tranquillity.

14. He exercis'd the Office of Conful four times; the first, for two months; the second and the last, for six; and the third, for four: The second and the third were successive, but the other two with some

years of intermission between.

answer to any motion or Petition, till the next day, and then alwayes in writing, to avoid mistake: In such Causes as were discussed before him, his method was, to dispatch them by turns, in the same order they were presented. Having received the Opinions of the Judges distinctly in writing, he read them privately by himself, but gave Judgment according to his own fancy. It was a long time before

before he could be perfwaded to admit the Sons of Libertines into the Senate, and to fuch of them as had been preferr'd by his Predecessors, he deny'd all honourable imployment. To fweeten and fupport fuch Candidates as were fupernumerary, and lost their Elections, and to make them the more patient of their delay, he gave them the Command of his Legions. He conferr'd the Confulship most commonly but for three months; and if either of the Confuls died before the Calends of January, he never fubstituted any in his place; abominating the president of Caninius Rebilus, who was Consul but for one day. He vouchsafed the Triumphal Ornaments, and those which belong'd to the Quæstorian Dignity, to some of the Equestrian Order, and that without respect of any service perform'd by them in the Wars, to deferve them. The accounts which were fent to the Senate in some fort of affairs he communicated to them by the Confuls, passing by and waiving the Office of the Quæstor, to whom it properly belong'd.

16. He invented a new model for Houses, contriving a kind of Gallery or Gatehouse before every one of them, from the Battlements of which they might be able to beat off or avert any accident by fire, and those he promis'd to build at his own charges. He had a resolution likewise to extend the Walls of the City as far as Ostia, from whence he design'd, by the help of a Canal, to bring the Sea into the Old Town. Many things he reformed in his time, and many things instituted anew: He moderated their luxury in Entertainments, reducing their set and solemn Feasts, to distributions and private Collations. He forbad by Proclamation the selling of any thing boyl'd in Taverns, besides

Pulse and Herbs, whereas before that they were allow'd to sell all forts of meat: He persecuted the Christians very severely, by reason of the novelty of their Superstition. The sports of the Charioteers (who by long practice had got a liberty of cheating and pilsering (as it were in jest) whatever came in their way) he forbad also and suppress'd; as likewise the factions of the Mimicks and Bussons, whom he banish'd, with the Actors themselves.

17. To prevent Forgeries, it was contrived at that time, that no Tables or Books should be figned or fealed, before they were ftruck through, and a thread drawn three times through the holes: That in all Wills, the two first Tables should have nothing written in them, but the Names of the Testators, and that they should be shew'd as blanks to the persons which were to seal; that the person which drew the Will, should not be capable of a Legacy, to prevent foifting in his own name amongst the rest of the Legacies: Besides these regulations, he ordain'd alfo, that fuch Clients as had Suits depending, should pay certain and reasonable Fees to their Advocates, and no more; but for the Seats or Benches of Court, they fnould pay nothing at all, there being allowance for that out of the Exchequer: That the Actions before the Commissioners of the Treasury, should be removed into the Common Pleas, before the Judges and Delegates, and that from the faid Judges no Appeal should lye, but to the Senate themselves.

18. Having neither hopes nor design of propagating his Empire, he had once thoughts of withdrawing his Army out of Britain, and had certainly done it, had it not been for shame, and sear of

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eclipling the Glory his Father had gain'd in those parts. All that he did which was memorable, was only this, he reduc'd *Pontus* into a Province, and that too by the confent of *Polemon* their King; and (when *Cottius* was dead) he did as much for a King-

dom upon the Alpes.

10. He never undertook but two Expeditions into Foreign parts, one into Alexandria, and the other into Achaia; That into Alexandria, he gave over the very day he took his resolution, discourag'd partly by a Religious fcruple, and partly by the danger of the Enterprize: For having gone in folemn Procession about all the Temples in the City, and having fate himself down at last in the Temple of Vefta, when he arose again, his Gown was hung to the feat, and immediately there was fuch a mist before his eyes, as took away his fight. Being arriv'd in Achaia, he proposed to make a cut thorow the Isthmus, in order to a communication of the two Seas; and having assembled his Prætorian Cohorts, he made a Speech to them to begin the work chearfully; and for their greater encouragement, he commanded the fignal to be given with a Trumpet; and having digg'd the first Scuttle full himself, he carried it away upon his own shoulders. He made preparation likewise for an Expedition to the Caspian Gates, having lifted a new Legion of Italian young men, each of them of fix foot high, which he called the Squadron of Alexander the Great. Thus far I have mentioned fuch of his Actions as were either praife-worthy, or innocent; and I have put them together, to separate and distinguish them from the wicked and detestable Actions, which I shall speak of hereafter.

20. Among the rest of the Sciences which he had learn'd in his minority, he had a particular esteem for Musick; infomuch that as soon as he had possesfed himself of his Empire, he sent immediately for Trepnus, who was the most famous person for his skill upon the Harp in those times; being arriv'd he lik'd his hand fo well, that he pass'd away the time every night in hearing him play, and fing, fometimes till it was very late; at length by his affiduous attention, he became capable of doing fomething himfelf; and was so much delighted with that kind of Instrument, that he observ'd the same rules which the Masters in those professions were accustomed to practice; either for the conservation, or strengthning of their Voices. He us'd to lie down upon his back, and lay a thin plate of lead upon his stomach, purged, and vomited often; abstain'd from Apples and all meats reputed prejudicial to his Voice; till at last being conceited of his proficiency, he would needs appear upon the Stage, and fing publickly before the People, though his Voice was neither strong, nor clear; alledging a Greek Proverb ordinarily to his friends, That conceal'd Musick was not valued at all. The first place he shew'd his abilities in that kind, was in Naples; where though the Theatre was shaken with a fudden Earth-quake, and in no fmall danger of falling; yet he would not give over till he had finish'd the Song he had began. In the same place he fang for feveral days together, without any intermission, more than for the refreshment of his Voice; and being grown impatient of living privately at home, he could not forbear showing himfelf upon the Theatre as foon as he came out of his Baths; and having feasted publickly in the Orchestra, in the presence of the people, he promised them

in Greek, That when he had wash'd his throat, he would give them a Lesson upon a Base note. Being much delighted with the praises of some Alexandrians which were but lately arrived at Naples, he fent for more of them over in great halte: besides these he felected a certain number of young Gentlemen of the Equestrian Order, and above 5000 of the lustiest young men amongst the Commons, which being divided into Squadrons, were to learn the three feveral forts of applauses; one of them resembling the humming of Bees, the other the falling of rain upon the Tiles, and the last, the clattering of earthen Vessels one against another. Whilst he was finging, he was attended by fome of these Youths, the handfomest could be found, who were alwaies richly habited, their hair powder'd and perfum'd with all possible advantage, and a ring of great value upon their left hand; for whose particular Education and Conduct he appointed Governours, and allow'd them 400000 Sefterces for their pensions.

21. He was so strangely transported with Musick, and Singing, that he renewed the Neronean Prises in Rome, before the time appointed at their first institution. The people which were about him, desiring one day in flattery to hear his Heavenly Voice, he told them, That being so importanate, they should bave it if they pleas'd, but it must be (publickly) in the Gardens; But the Souldiers then upon the Guard, joyning their prayers to the rest, he promis'd to satisfie them immediately, and without more ado, he entred his name in the list of Professors of Musick, and having put in his lot into the Urne amongst the rest of the Harpers, he entred upon the Theatre according to his lot, the Captain of his Guard carrying his Harp after him; the Tribunes of the Army

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attending him with the most intimate of his friends. Having spoken his Prologue, he fate down, and by the Mouth of Cluvius Rufus a Confulary man, he acquainted the people, that he would represent the flory of Niobe, which he perform'd accordingly, and held it out till it was near the tenth hour of the day; and that he might have more frequent occasion of finging, he put off and deferred the rest of the contest, and the distribution of the prizes till the next year: But fancying that also something too long, he forbore not to prefent himself usually at all publick shews: In private plays likewife, he was not ashamed to play his part amongst the rest of the Actors, and to accept of a Million of Sefterces which were offered him by one of the Prætors: He fang Tragedies in difguifes, personating the Heroes and Gods, the Goddesses and great Ladies of antient times, with Vizards and Masks adapted to his face, and the womans, according as he loved her; amongst other things, he fung and acted CAN ACE in travail; Orestes murdering his Mother; Oedipus pulling out his own eyes, and Hercules in a Frenzy. In which last representation, it is reported that ayoung Souldier at that time upon the Guard in the Theatre, feeing the Emperour dreft, and bound in chains, as the argument required, supposing it real violence, he ran into his relief in good earnest.

22. From his infancy, he was a great lover of Horses, and would talk often of the Circensian Games, though he was forbidden; Being rebuked by his Master upon a time, for lamenting a disaster which had befallen a Manager of the Chariots of the green faction, who falling from his Chariot, was dragg'd up and down the Course, he put it off with an ex-

Cuse, and protested, He spake of no body but Hettor. In the beginning of his Reign he entertain'd himfelf daily at a Game with Chariots of Ivory on a board, and there was nothing to be feen in the Circus, how flight and inconfiderable foever, but he would leave his retirements to be there, incognito at first, but afterwards publickly, fo as every one knew what day he would be prefent. Having intimated that he would augment the number of prizes, the courfes were multiplied, and protracted till it grew late in the Evening, and the Masters of the Factions became fo malepert, they would not vouchfafe to bring out their Squadrons, unless they might be affured to run all day long. By degrees he tooka fancy of driving a Chariot himself, and delighted to be frequently feen. Having taken his rudiments, and first practice in the Gardens anongst the Slaves and inferiour fort of people, he expos'd himfelf at length in the Grand Circus, to the eyes of all: one of his Freed-men giving the fignal with a Napkin from the same place where the Magistrates were wont to do it. Nor was he contented to have given experiments of his skill and dexterity in Rome, but he must need go into Achaia (as I said before) to perform as much there. All the Cities in which there were any prizes for Musick having taken a refolution to fend the Crowns defigned for the Players upon the Harp unto him; he took it so kindly, he not only preferr'd their Embassadours, and gave them audience before any of the rest, but he admitted them to an entertainment he made for his most particular friends: and being defired by one of them as they were fitting at supper to give them a Song, he granted his request, and (transported with their extravagant applause) cry'd out, The Greeks were the only only persons had a good ear, that none but they were worthy of him, and his endeavours. Neither did he put off his Voyage any longer, for as soon as he had cross'd over the Sea to Cassiope, he began to sing immediately before the Altar of Jupiter Cassius.

23. After this, he was one at all prizes whatever: Those Games which formerly celebrated at more remote times, he reduc'd into the compass of a year, reiterating fome of them upon occasion, and adding a Musick prize to the Olympick exercises, contrary to the precedent custom of the place. He was fo much addicted to the forts of diversions, that he made them his whole business and study; and being folicited earnestly upon a time, by Helius one of his Free-men, that he would return and be prefent at the administration of the City affairs, he writ him word back again in these terms, Though it be your desire and advice I should return with all diligence; yet you ought rather to wish, that Nero may return worthy of himself. Whilst he was singing, it was not permitted to any man to depart the Theatre, upon any occasion though never so necessary; insomuch that it is reported women were delivered there, and feveral persons so tyred, with the tediousness and flattery of the applauses, (the Gates of the place being that up) that they either leap'd privately over the wall, or elfe fell down, and diffembled themselves dead, that they might be carried out as to their burials. It is scarce to be believed with what fear and anxiety, with what emulation of his adversaries, with what apprehension of his Judges, he contended in these prizes. He was so mean and poor spirited, that he observ'd and pryed into every thing relating to his Competitors; if they were of the same condition and quality, he carry'd things fair with them outOutwardly, but traduc'd them under hand, and took all wayes possible to disparage them behind their backs; if they were indifputably better skill'd, his way was then to bribe and corrupt them with prefents: And for the Judges he accosted them with great reverence, and told them, That he had done what was possible to be done, but that the event was in the hands of Fortune, that being wife and learned men as they were, it belong'd to them to exclude things of fortune and chance. The Judges animating and incouraging him by their fair words, he withdrew better fatisfied a little, yet it was feldom without jealousie; for if any of them had faid nothing, he took not their silence for an effect of their modesty, but on the Contrary imputed it to the doggedness and malignity of their nature, and could not forbear

declaring that he had them in Suspicion.

224. In all his contentions he was fo strict and punctual an observer of the Laws, that he never durst venture to spit, nor to wipe the sweat off of his forehead, with any thing but his arm: In a Tragedy in which he acted one day, his Baton falling out of his hand, he took it up again immediately, but it was in such disorder, and fear of being reject ed for that miscarriage, that he could not recollect himself till one of the Actors in flattery affured him with an oath, that the shouts and acclamations of the people being fo great, fo small a thing as that could not be observed. When he was Victor in any prize, his custom was, to pronounce his own Victory himself, for which cause he was in perpetual contention with the Cryer. And to the end that there might remain no Monument or Footstep of any other Victors, he commanded their statues to be pull'd down in all places, to be dragged along the streets, and

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and thrown into the Common-shores. He diverted himself many times with managing the Chariot; in the Olympick Games, he drove one with ten Horses; though in one of his Poems he reproach'd King Mithridates for doing the same: His Course was so surious, he was thrown out of his Box, where being remounted again, and not able to continue, he gave over before he had finish'd his Carier; yet he carried the prize nevertheles: At his departure from thence, he enfranchised the whole Province, made the Judges free of the City, besides considerable presents which he gave them in ready money, which bountiful actions he proclaim'd publickly with his own Mouth, from the middle of the course on the day they celebrated the Isthmian Games.

25. Being returned from Greece to Naples, he entred into the Town through a breach in the Wall (according to the Custom of Victors) in a Chariot drawn with white Horses, that being the place in which he had first improv'd himself in those Arts. The same Course he observ'd in his entries at Antium, Albanum and Rome; where he entred in the fame Chair in which Augustus made his Triumph, habited in a Purple Robe, his Mantle studded with stars of Gold, with an Olympick Crown upon his head, a Pythick Crown in his right hand, and others carried before him in great Pomp, with inscriptions not only where and whom he conquer'd, but the very Subject and argument. of each fable and song. Immediately after his Chariot, followed a throng of people, with their acclamations and applauses according to the manner of an Ovation, crying out with a loud voice, they were Augustians, and the Souldiers of his Triumph. From thence, (having caus'd an Arch of the Grand Grque to be beaten down) he March'd

march'd through the Velabrum and Forum, straight up to the Palatium, and from thence to the Temple of Apollo: In his passage facrifices were offer'd all along, faffron strewed about the streets, Birds were let fly, and Libands and Juncklets thrown amongst the people. Being arrived at his Palace, they hung the Crowns which he had won at those facred contests, round about his bed, upon several of his Statues in the habit of a Harper, with which impression he caus'd his Money to be stamp'd. After this he was fo far from remitting any thing of his studies in this kind, that for the preservation of his Voice, he never made speech to his Souldiers more, but signified his pleasure to them either in writing, or by the month of another Man. Nor would he do any thing either feriously or in merriment unless his Phonascus (who had the care of his voice) was by, to admonish him to take heed he did not strain himself too much, and to thrust his handkerchief to his Mouth if he perfifted: In short, he was so jealous and fo ambitious of the glory of finging and playing well, that he profest himself a friend or an Enemy according as every man commended him more or lefs.

26. At first he endeavoured to conceal his petulancy, lust, luxury, avarice and cruelty, as if he had designed to have them thought only the extravagancies of his youth: but it was clear enough to every body, they were the effects of his Nature. As soon as the Evening was shut in, he put on a disguise, and away amongst the Taverns and Victualing houses, wandring and playing about the streets, beating such as he found late abroad, wounding such as resisted, drenching them in the houses of Office; breaking up shops and plundering them when

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when he had done; having first establish'd a Fair, or Market in his house, where all that he stole or pillaged were exposed to sale. However in these frollicks he ran a hazard many times, not only of lofing his Eyes, but his life; Once he was battered almost to death, by a Senator, to whose Wife he had offer'd fome incivility; and thereupon he never went abroad fo late afterwards, but he had fome of the Officers of his Guards following him privately at a distance. In the day time being convey'd in a Chair into the Theatre, he not only beheld the quarrels and mutinies of the Players from the upper part of the Proscenium, but he set them together by the Ears, and when they were engaged, he took great delight in throwing Stones, and pieces of Wood amongst people, with which he once brake the head of a Prætor.

27. But by degrees his Vices increas'd fo, that he laid aside all pretence of jesting or shame, and without all care of concealing or excusing what he did, he flew out into greater and more publick exorbitancies. He spun out his Meals from noon to midnight, refreshing himself often with hot or cold Baths, according to the feafon of the year, or the variety of the weather. He feasted many times also in publick, sometimes in the Naumachia, or place defigned for the Naval Combats, fometimes in the Field of Mars, and fometimes in the Grand Circus, attended by the most debauch'd and most infamous women of the whole City. As often as he went down the Tiber to Offia, or pass'd by the Baian Gulf, Booths were fet up along the banks, and women disposed at their several doors, to invite and allure him on either shore. He invited himself to Supper likewife to his more particular Friends,

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and they treated him usually with so much magnificence, that one of them spent 400 millions of Sesterces on a Sweet-bag, at one Entertainment; and another something more, in Roses, odoriserous Di-

stillations, and Perfumes.

28. Besides his unnatural conversation with Boys. and his adulteries with married Women, he deflowered a Vestal Virgin call'd Rubria: He was very near marrying of Acte, who was no more than a Freed-woman; though he brib'd and fuborn'd certain persons who had been Confuls, to swear and affert that the was of Royal Extraction. Having caus'd a youth named Sporus to be gelt, his folly was fo great, that he endeavour'd to transform him quite into a Woman; after which he married him, with the usual formalities of a Dowry, and Urile, and kept him afterwards in his house in the quality of his Wife: upon which occasion it was wittily faid, That the World had been happy, if Nero's Father Domitius had had no better a Sponfe. He caus'd this Sporus to be dress'd up in the habit of an Empress, and carrying him in a Litter, he accompanied him publickly in the Assizes and Market Towns of Greece, and afterwards in Rome about the Street Sigillaria, kissing him frequently as they pass'd along. It is not doubted at all, but he had a passionate defire to lye with his own Mother; but he was diverted from that, by certain of her back friends, who apprehended left fo great a favour should make her (who was proud and high enough already) much more infolent and mischievous: And as a mark of his incestuous desires, having understood there was a Lady at that time extremely like his Mother Agrippina, he fent for her, and receiv'd her amongst his Concubines. It is reported likewise, that

that whenever he rode alone in the Litter with his Mother, he had his incestuous dalliances with her, which were discover'd by the spotting and pollution of his Clothes.

29. He prostituted himself in such manner to all forts of uncleanness, that there was scarce a part in his body undefiled. At last he invented a new kind of pastime, altogether abominable: Having cover'd himself over with the skin of a wild Beast, he was flipt (as it were) fuddenly out of a Cave, and fell violently upon the fecrets of men and women. which he had order'd to be fasten'd stark naked to a stake hard by; and when he had satisfied his brutality, he was to be killed (in jest) by his Freedman Doriphorus, to whom he was married, (as Sporus was to him) and counterfeited the cryes and complaints of a new married Virgin: I have been told by divers, that he was absolutely perfwaded, all people were as wicked and unchaft as himself, but that they had generally the discretion to conceal it: Whereupon whoever profess'd his own obscenity freely, he as freely forgave him all the rest of his Crimes, of what nature soever they were.

advantage of Riches, consisted in lavishness and profusion; esteeming them most penuriously fordid, who kept any accompt of their Expences, and them as splendidly magnificent, who squander'd and confum'd all. He never mention'd his Unkle Caius, but with an Elogie, because in so short a time he had dissipated the vast sums which Tiberius had left him: for which reasons he observ'd no measure in his Gifts or Expences. 'Tis almost incredible, and yet'tis true, he allow'd Tiridates 20000 Crowns a

day, whilst he continued in Rome, and at his departure he made him a Prefent of above a hundred millions of Sefferces more. He gave to Menecrates a Harper, and to Spicillus a Sword-player, the Patrimonies and Houses of Noble persons, and such as had had the honour of a Triumph. He made a most princely Funeral for his Monkey, on whom he had bestow'd the Estate of Paneros the Usurer, both in the City and Countrey. He never put on one Garment, above once. At Dice he ventured ordinarily 400 Sesterces upon every point: When he fish'd, his Net was of Gold, and the Cords of Purple, or Scarlet died in Grain. He never travell'd with lefs than a thousand Chariots in his Train; his Mules shod with Silver, and his Mulitiers in fine Crimfon Liveries of Cloth of Canusium; besides an Horse-Guard of Africans, with Bracelets and other accoutrements, very glorious and rich, and Foot-men.

31. He never did more prejudice to the City in any one thing, than in his Buildings: He built a house which extended from the Palace as far as the Mount Esquelin, which he called his Transitory at first; but being afterwards burnt, he built it again, and call'd it from that time, His Golden Adifice: To demonstrate its Grandeur and Magnificence, it is fufficient to affirm, that its entrance was spacious enough to receive a Colossus (representing Nero) of a hundred and twenty foot high; the Galleries confifted of three rows of Pillars, each of them a full mile; in it he had Fields, Vines, Woods, variety of beafts of all forts, wild and tame, with a Pool (like the Sea) encompass'd with fair Buildings in the manner of Cities: The body of the house was richly overlaid with Gold, and adorn'd with precious

precious Stones, and Mother of Pearl: The vaulted Chambers where he fupp'd, were cieled, and contrived with plates of Ivory to turn round, thorow which the Flowers, and Pipes with the fweet Oyls, were to be cast down upon him: The principal of these Banquetting-rooms resembled the Firmament, both in its figure and motion; for besides that it was round, it turn'd incessantly about night and day. He had his Baths also of all forts of water, falt or fresh, as he pleas'd. When this magnificent Structure was finish'd, and he came first thither to dedicate it, he approv'd it only thus far, as to fay, That at last he began to dwell like a man. Besides this, he designed and began a Canal from Misenum to the Lake Avernus, intending to have cover'd it with Arches all the way like a Cloyster; and thorough it, to have convey'd all the hot waters from the Baths, or Baia, thither. He had thoughts also of making a cut from Avernus toOftia, of a hundred and fixty miles in length; and of fuch a breadth, that two Galleys of five ranks of Oars might pass easily a breast, to the end they might fail to and fro in their ships, without the troubles or dangers of the Sea. For the perfecting of these vast works, he commanded that all Prisoners from all parts fhould be transported into Italy, and that those who were convicted (whatever their crime were) should be condemned only to his Works. Besides his confidence in the Treasure of the Empire, he was encouraged to this furious and extravagant expence, by a Roman Knight, who had put it into his head, and affured him that he would help him to all the riches Queen Dido carried along with her out of Tyros when she fled from thence, perfwading him that it was buried in huge and vast Caves Caves under ground in Africk; and might be got

out again with very little pains.

32. But his hopes being frustrate in that, and his treasures so exhausted that he was not able to pay his Souldiers or gratifie his Veterans as he had formerly done, without running in their fcore; and putting them off, he betook himself to all manner of circumvention and rapine. The first thing he decreed was, that instead of the Moiety, three fourths · should be required and collected out of the Estates of fuch enfranchifed persons, as without just cause had assumed the name of any of the Families, to which he was allied; that their Wills should be void, and their Possessions confiscate, who had shown themselves ungrateful to their Prince in leaving him nothing, and that fuch Lawyers as had drawn or di-Ctated the faid Wills, should be finable and punish'd. That all words and actions should be brought within the Compass of Treason, if there was but any one informer to justifie the accusation. He redemanded all the Crowns and rewards which feveral Cities had offer'd him at any time, and he refus'd. Having forbid the use of the Violet and Purple colours, he fent one privately to fell some few ounces upon a Fair, and then pretending disobedience of his Orders, he clapt up all the Merchants which had bought them. Another time as he was finging, he observ'd a Lady in the Theatre habited in Purple, and having made figns to his Officers to apprehend her, he not only caus'd her to be pull'd down, and her Robe to be taken away, but he took away her estate alfo. He never gave any man an office, but he had these words into the bargain; Ton know what I need, and let us make it our business that no man may have any thing to call his own. Finally he spared not the very

very Temples themselves, from whence he took away all their Gifts and Oblations of any considerable value; melting down their Images of Gold and Silver, not excusing so much as the Images of the Tutelar Gods, which Galba restored within a while afterwards.

33. His Parricides and Murders he began with Claudius, of whose death though he was not principally the Author, yet he was an accomplice, and accessary thereunto: Neither did he at all dissemble the matter, alleadging many times a Greek Proverb in commendation of Mushromes, and crying them up, as Meat for the Gods, because Claudius was poifoned with one of them: This is most certain, when he was dead he abus'd his memory with the most opprobrious Calumnies he could invent, accusing him fometimes of cruelty, fometimes of folly, never fpeaking of him but with fcorn, and to express, He hadceas'd to live, he would fay, He had ceas'd to play the fool among ft men; perverting the meaning of the word Morari, by making the first Syllable long, which ought to have been short. He rescinded many of his Acts and Constitutions, as the decrees of an idle and distracted man; and without showing any respect to his memory or ashes, he caus'd them to be buried in a very mean Tomb, railed in with fome flight and inconfiderable matter: The envy he bore to Britannicus (as well by reason of his voice (which was better than his) as because he was jealous lest the Memory of his Father might gain him the affection of the people, to his difadvantage and prejudice) put him upon a refolution of giving him poifon. He made use of a woman called Locusta, who had accus'd several persons of conspiracies in that kind: But the poison not working

fo quick as he expected, produc'd no other effect but a lask, and fome Gripings in the Belly of Britannicus, whereupon he caus'd Locusta to be called. fell upon, and beather with his own hands, and reproach'd her, that instead of poison, she had given him an antidote; To which as she excus'd her felf for having given it no stronger on purpose, that she might the better conceal the impiety of the Fact. Why then, said be, Doest thou think I am afraid of the Law Julia alfo? and commanded her forthwith to make another prefently in his Chamber, that might be more violent and Mortal; which being perform'd accordingly, for experiment fake he gave it to a Kid, who not dying in less than five hours time, he caus'd it to be boyled over again and again, and then gave it to a Pig, which died immediately: Judging it strong enough then, and proper for his defign, he commanded it to be brought into the room, and given to Britannicus as he fate at Supper with him. Britannicus had no sooner taken it, but he fell down, and no fooner was he dead, but Nero was ready with a lye, pretending to the Company, that it was a fit of the falling fickness with which he was commonly troubled; and the next day in great hast hurried him away to his funeral in the midst of a fierce shower of rain without any Pomp or solemnity; And to the faid Locusta for her good service, he gave not only impunity for all the crimes she had ever committed, but large possessions in-lands, and permitted her to take Scholars, and to train them up in that pernitious Science.

34. Not being able to endure the admonishment of his Mother, who (as he thought) look'd too narrowly into his actions, (being at first only offended) he pretended he would resign his Government

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and retire to Rhodes, defigning thereby to make her odious to the people. But at length he made so bold with her, as to deprive her of all the honour and authority the formerly had; He took away her German Guards, turn'd her out of his Palace and company, omitting no mischief whatsoever that might perplex her. Whilst she was in Rome he suborn'd people to molest her with suits, when she was retired, he imploy'd others to interrupt her tranquillity with ill language or bitter fcoffs as they past by that way, either by land or Sea. But she being a Princess of invincible magnanimity, the terrified him fo with her threats, and her violence, that he refolv'd to dispatch her. Having three times attempted her with poison, and perceiving the was fortified with Antidotes, he contrived a way of loofning the roof of her Chamber artificially in the night, and letting it fall upon her: But this defign being not kept private enough by fome of the Conspirators, he devifed a Ship by the fudden opening of which the might fall into the Sea, or be knock'd on the head by the Fall of the Fore-Castle, where she wasto be. Having laid this Plot, he pretended a great defire to reconcile himself to her, writ several Letters to her, full of civility and respect, inviting her very kindly to Baia, that they might be present together at the folemnity of the Quinquatria or festival in honour of Minerva, and fhe accepted of the invitation. In the mean time he had given order to the Captain of his Galleys, to overfet that Galley in which Agrippina should come, as if he had fallen foul upon her by accident, and to give the more time for the Execution of this Enterprize, he protracted the feast as long as he could: When she returned to Bauli, in stead of that Ship which was shatter'd as before said,

he made her an humble proffer, of his Vessel with Machines, built on purpose for her destruction: Having waited upon her abroad, and accompanied her therefor some time with many Carelles and much chearfulness, killing her Breafts with all imaginable kindness when he took his leave; he past the rest of the time in no small anxiety, attending the fuccess of his design: But when the news arrived that all things went cross, and that his Mother had fwum to shore, and was fafe, being utterly at a loss and not knowing what to do next: as L. Agernius one of his freed-men, brought him word with great iov, that she was alive, and very well; he commanded a Dagger to be conveyed near him privately, and then causing that to be discover'd, he order'd him to be apprehended and clapt in Chains, as one hired to murder him; at the same he difpatch'd another to kill his Mother if it were pollible; refolving to give out that she had made away her felf upon the frustration of her design, to avoid the punishment the deserved. There are Authors of very good authority, which report things more inhumane than these; as that upon tidings that his Mother was flain, as he had appointed, he had the curiofity to go fee her Corps, to handle every part of it, some of which he sound fault with, others he commended, and being thirsty, He drank in the interim. Nevertheless the fact being once done, all the applauses, and Congratulations of the Souldiers, Senate, or People, could not prevent or relieve him against the perpetual remorfes of his Conscience: he confest he was haunted with his Mothers Ghost, that he was tormented with the whips, and burning torches of the Furies; He applied himself to the Magicians, and endeavoured by one of their facrifices to

to call up their Manes, and intreat them to forgive him: Having made a Voyage thorough Greece to that purpose, he durst not be present at the Elusine Ceremonies, when he heard the Cryer commanding with a loud voice, all impious and profane perfons to depart: Yet all this could not hinder from adding the Murder of his Aunt, to the Parricidie of his Mother. His Aunt being ill and not enjoying the benefit of Nature, he made her a visit one day, and the good old Lady amongst the rest of her Garesses taking him gently by the down of his beard, which as then was not cut, and hapning to fay in Complaifance, Might I but live to take up this hair when it is cut off, I could die with content. He turn'd about to his Companions, and in derision reply'd he would have it cut off immediately for her sake; and then gave order to the Physitians to purge her more strongly; She was no fooner dead but he feized upon all her Estate, and supprest her will, lest any thing should escape him.

35. Besides his first Wise Octavia, he had two others, the first was Poppaa Sabina the Daughter of one who had been Quæltor, and married formerly to a Roman Knight: The second was Statitia Massa-lina, Grand-daughter in the third degree to Taurus who had been twice Consul, and Triumph'd once; she was married to Atiecus Vestinus the Consul who was murder'd by Nero's Command in the very time of his Consulship, to make way for his injoyment of her. He quickly neglected the Conversation of Octavia, and being reproved by some of his friends, he made answer, That the Jewels and Ornaments of a Wise were sufficient for her. After he had many times attempted to strangle her in vain, he divorc'd her under pretence of barrenness, and observing the peo-

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ple diffatisfy'd with what he had done, and murmuring against it, he banish'd her quite. At length he accus'd her of adultery, and put her to death; but the charge was fo impudently falfe, that all the Witnesses he caus'd to be examin'd, endur'd the Torture, and denyed it to the last; infomuch that he was constrain'd to suborn Anicetus his own Page. who confest he had lyen with her, but it was by Circumvention. The twelfth day after he had divorced Octavia, he married Poppaa, and loved her entirely, yet he killed her with a kick, though she was fickly and with Child, for no other reason, but fpeaking fomething sharply to him for coming home late from a running of Chariots. By her he hada Daughter named Claudia Augusta, who dyed very young: He violated all the laws of Nature, and there was no fort of relation he had, which his cruelty excus'd. Antonia the Daughter of Claudius refuling to marry him after Poppeas death, he caus'd her to be flain, upon pretence of Conspiracy against him and the State. In like manner he made away the rest which were any way allied, or near him in blood. Among whom Aulus Planeus a young Gentleman, being one; He abus'd his body by violence first, and then caus'd him to be cut in pieces, giving out that he was his Mothers Gallant, and that fne had promis'd him the Empire, whereupon he faid in derision when he had the news of his death; 'Tis well! let my mother kiss my Successor now if the pleases. His Son-in-law Rufinus Crispinus the Son of Poppaa, being as yet but a Lad, because he was reported to personate Emperours and Captains in his recreations amongst his playfellows, he corrupted his own fervants to throw him headlong (as he was one day fishing) into the Sea. He banish'd Tuscus, his Nurfes

fes Son, for that during his Superintendency in Egypt, he had the prefumption to bath himself in the Baths which the Ægyptians had built on purpose against Nero's arrival: He forced Seneca (his Tutor) to kill himself, though he had sworn most folemnly to him feveral times, (both when he petition'd for liberty to depart the Court, and when he gave him his Estate) That he was suspicious without reason, and that he would rather dye himself, than do him any prejudice or hurt. Burrus the Captain of his Guards, being troubled with a diftemper in his throat, he promis'd him a remedy, and fending him poison, was as good as his word: With the fame inhumanity he used several of his Freed-men, especially if they were antient and rich, poisoning fome of them in their meat, and fome in their drinks, though they had not only been confiderably instrumental in his Adoption, but assistant likewise, and of importance to him, in the Government of the State.

36. Neither were Strangers and Foreigners more exempt from his fury, than his Friends; A Blazingflar appearing about that time, (which being look'd upon as an infallible portent of misfortune to fome Soveraign Power) Nero was under no small trouble; but Babilus the Astrologer having acquainted him, that among Monarchs it was usual upon such occasions, to expiate those fad Omens, by some extraordinary Massacre, recollecting himself, he refolv'd to turn that Judgement upon the heads of his Nobles, and to exterminate whatever he thought considerable in Rome: which enterprize he undertook the more willingly, and with juster cause, as it appear'd, by reason of the discovery of two Confpiracies against him; one of them (and that the Aa 2 moff

most dangerous) was managed by Piso, and his friends at Rome; the other at Beneventum, by Vinicius, and his party: The Conspirators were brought to their Trial, and pleaded in Chains; they unanimously acknowledged the fact, and some of them justified it, alledging, That the Emperour being so scandalously flagitious, they knew not any better way they could serve him, than by putting him to death. The Children of such persons as were condemn'd, were expelled the City immediately, and afterwards made away either by poison, or sterving. It is most certainly transmitted in History, that some of them with their Tutors, and Book-keepers, were poisoned at one meal, and that others were kept up

from their meat, and starved.

37. After this, he observ'd no rule or moderation either in the choice or manner of Execution of whomfoever he pleas'd: Not to enlarge my felf too far, it was objected against Salvidienus Orfitus, that he had let three rooms out of his House near the Forum, to Foreign Cities, as Lodgings for their Deputies. The quarrel against Cassius Longinus (a blind Lawyer) was, that he had fet up the Picture of C. Cassius, one of the murderers of Casar amongst the rest of his Ancestors. Against Thraseas Patus he could find no fault, but that his countenance was fevere, and he had the looks of a Schoolmaster. He seldom or never gave above one hours time to any he condemned, and that there might be no protraction or delay, he fent his Chyrurgions to them to cure them out of hand, (for fo he call'd opening their veins, that they might bleed to death.) There was in his time a great Eater at Rome, who devoured raw flesh, and whatever else they gave him: It is reported that Nero (whatever

ever happen'd to divert him) had a great fancy to have live-men torn in pieces, and thrown to him to be confum'd. Being not a little elated with these variety of feeming fuccesses, he became so insolent, he afferted publickly, That none of his Predecessors had known heir own power. He took so little care of diffembling his animofity against the Senate, that he gave out many, and downright expressions, that his design was utterly to destroy that Order, and to put the Government of the Provinces and Armies into the hands of the Knights, and his Freed-men. Either at his going or coming, he vouchfafed to kifs none of them, nor to return them fo much as a common falute. In the Ceremonies before he began to cut the Isthmus in Corinth, in a great Assembly, he publickly wish'd, That the design might take, and turn to his advantage, and to the advantage of the Commonwealth; not so much as mentioning the Senate at all.

38. He spared neither the People, nor the Walls of his Countrey. One chancing in his private conversation to say in Greek;

What do I care, when I expire, If the whole Earth be mixt with Fire.

Nay rather, quoth he, 'E pe (arto;

If I might have mine own desire, I'de set it whilft I live on Fire.

And so he did, for being displeased, as he pretended, with the deformity of the old Buildings, and the narrowness, and unhandsome windings of the Streets, he set it on Fire so publickly, that several

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Of his Officers being taken by the Consulares in their houses, as it were in the very act, with Fire and Flax in their hands, they let them go without daring to meddle with them: There being certain Store-houses likewise about his Golden Palace, (which ground he defired to have) not being fo eafily burnt, because the Walls were of Stone, he caus'd them to be beaten down with his Engines of War. In this manner the Fire continued for fix dayes, and feven nights, the people being forc'd for refuge into the Tombs and Monuments of the dead: Besides an infinite number of common houses, there were consum'd the Palaces of all the antient Commanders, (adorn'd at that very day with the Spoils of their Enemies; ) the Temples also which were consecrated by the Kings, and afterwards by the piety of our Ancestors, in the Punick and Gallick Wars; in short, all the Noble Monuments of Antiquity, how memorable or magnificent foever they were, had the same fate and destiny in this barbarous Conflagration: Nevertheless Nero was so far from the least touch of forrow. or compassion, that he look'd upon the Fire all the while from the Tower of Macenas, sporting himfelf therewith, as an object of pleasure and diverfion; and being as he faid, much taken with the prospect of the Flame, he sang the destruction of Troy, in the very same habit he used to sing upon the Stage. And left he should not be so great a gainer, as he propos'd when he began it, he promis'd to carry out the rubbish and dead bodies at his own charge; and therefore he would not fuffer any one to go about to extinguish the Fire, or to preferve fuch Goods as remain'd: Yet not contented with these rapines at home, he ruined the

the Provinces, and private persons abroad, with his

Taxes and Impositions.

30. To these desolations and miseries from their Prince, there were added some fortuitous calamities, which gave no small affliction to the people: In one Autumn they were fo furiously infested with the Plague, that there died above thirty thousand persons, as appear'd by the Records in the Temple of Venus Libitina. In Britain two of their principal Garrisons were fack'd with great slaughter of the Romans, and their Allies. In the Eastern parts, their losses were accompanied with dishonour; the Legions in Armenia being put under the yoke, and Syria preferv'd with very great difficulty. But that which was wonderful, and especially to be taken notice of in all his occurrences, was his patience and unconcernment at all the Obloquies of the people, and that he should behave himself with the same equality and composedness, in the midst of the Execrations of such as had provok'd him with their Sarcasms and Satyrs: Many Verses in Greek and in Latine were publickly thrown about, upbraiding him with the infamy and barbarity of his Actions: Some of them were thefe.

Nero, Orestes, and Alcmoon slew Their Mother: Nero sirst his Mother knew.

Quis negat Æneæ magna de stirpe Neronem?
Sustulit hic matrem, sustulit ille patrem.
Dum tendit citharam noster, dum cornua Parthus,
Noster erit Pæan, ille Hecatebeletes.
Roma domus siet: Veios migrate Quirites,
Si non & Veios occupat ist a domus.

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That Nero's of Æneas race, is clear,
Their Sympathy and Actions makes't appear:
Æneas made his Fathers way; and th'other
(In imitation) made away his Mother:
Nero doth with his Harp like Pæan show,
The Parthian-like Apollo with his Bow.
Rome's but one House: To Veii fly, lest e're
You reach that Town, the House it self gets there.

But he never so much as enquired after the Authors; and when fome of them were discover'd to the Senate, he would not fuffer them to be punish'd Isidorus the Cynick seeing him pass by in feverely. publick one day, he told him aloud, That he could sing the ill actions of Nauplius well enough, but of his own good qualities he could make no use at all. And Datus an Actor in the Atellane Farces, in his part in which were these words in Greek, Farewel Father, and Farewel Mother, pointed so plainly at the deaths of Claudius and Agrippina, that he used the postures of one drinking now, and anon of another a fwimming; and in the last conclusion, these words, Orcus vobis ducit pedes, Now Pluto carries forth your feet, he address'd so particularly to the Senate, it was no hard matter to know whom he intended. But Nero, whether he did really flight and despise all such kind of reflection, or dissembled his refentment for fear of irritating them, proceeded no further against either the Philosopher, or Droll, than to drive them both out of Italy, and Rome.

40. At length after the world had groan'd under the Tyranny of this Emperour for little less than 14. years, it began to defert him: The first that revolt-

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ed were the French, under the Conduct of Julius Vindez who govern'd that province at that time under the quality of Pro-Prator: The Astrologers having told him long before that he should one day be distrest, and forsaken, he made use of this expression frequently in greek.

Let it be so, a Man of worth and Art, In every Country meets with his desert.

Intimating that he was to be excus'd for applying himself so earnestly to be perfect at his Harp, which was a diversion to him now he was Emperour, and might be his fubfiftance another day, if he should become a private man. Yet some of them promis'd him the Empire of the East, and some of them particularly the Kingdom of Hierusalem, but most of them restitution to his former authority: and being inclin'd to hope, what was most for his advantage, having reduc'd Britain and Armenia to their obedience, he look'd upon all their Prophecies as accomplish'd, and concluded there was nothing then left for him to fear. But after he had confulted the Oracle of Delphos, and received answer, That he should have a care of seventy three, not considering Galba's years, he perswaded himself that was to be the term of his life; infomuch that he conceived fo great affurance not only of his living to be an old man, but of being perpetually happy till then; That having lost several things of great value in a Shipwrack, he was fo vain as to fay amongst his friends, The very fish would bring them again. Being at Naples, on the same day on which his Mother was murder'd, he had news of the infurrection of the Gauls, but he was so little affected with it, that

he feemed rather to rejoice, as in an occasion of pillaging those opulent Provinces by the right of war; and going forthwith into the Gymnasium, he beheld the Champions with great earnestness and delight: At supper he received new Letters, more pressing and importunate than the former, but without any further emotion than a bare threatning of the revolters. In short having given no answer, nor deliver'd out any Orders to any one for eight days together, he suffer'd things to go as they would, and slubber'd all over in silence.

41. Nevertheless the several Edicts publish'd by Vindex to his dishonour, and in contempt of his Authority, awakened him at last, so as he writ a Letter to the Senate recommending to them the Vindication of his interest and the Republicks, excusing his own absence, with the pretence of an Inflammation in his Throat. But nothing troubled him fo much, or gave him fo great a disquiet, as that they call'd him pitiful Harper and Enobarbus, instead of Nero: whereupon he protested he would quit his adopted Name, and reassume that of his family, feeing they had reproach'd him with it as a thing he was ashamed of. His other imputation he refell'd with no other argument, than that they were fools, and ignorant of an Art which he had refin'd by his own industry and pains, and therewithal examin'd them one by one very ferioully, if ever they had known a more excellent Musician than himself. But the alarm increasing, and Post upon Post coming in with ill news, he left Naples in great terrour and return'd to Rome. However his heart was fomething reviv'd by the way and that upon a very frivolous prefage, for having observ'd a Tomb upon the road on which there was engraven aFrench SolSouldier overcome by a Roman Knight, who dragg'd him about by the hair, he was transported with joy, and gave thanks to the Heavens for so good an Omen. At his arrival, he was so careless that instead of assembling the Senate, or People, he only summoned some of the principal men to his own house, where after a short and hasty debate, he spent the rest of the day in carrying them about to see some instruments he had lately invented which play'd only by the water: and having shown them all, and discourst particularly of the reason and workmanship of each of them apart, he promis'd he would produce them ere long upon the Theatre, if Vindex

would give him leave.

42. Understanding afterwards of the Commotions in Spain under Galba, he was so much dejected at the news, that he remain'd a long time without either motion or voice as he had been almost dead; and when he came to himself again, he tore his clothes, beat himfelf about the head, and cryed out, He was undone, he was undone. His Nurse endeavoring to comfort him, and to put him in mind that the like accidents had befallen other Princes before him. he reply'd, That his misfortunes were above all president, for he was living, and saw his Empire lost. And yet for all this, he was fo fordidly infatuated, that even in fo great a diforder of his affairs, he continued his former debauches, and led the fame life he had done before. If he received good news out of the Provinces, though never fo little to his advantage, he fell a feasting immediately; drolling and finging verses against the heads of the rebellion at his own table, and feconding his voice with lafcivious and idle gestures. Being privately convey'd into the Theatre one time, and observing one of the Actors

Actors to do his part to the satisfaction of the whole house, he fell into so great an emulation of him, he sent him word, That he invaded the recreations of his

Emperour.

43. Upon the first alarm of these troubles, it is credibly believed he defigned horrible things, and fuch as were fuitable to the cruelty of his Nature. His resolution was, to send persons into all the Provinces and armies to fucceed, and massacre those which commanded in chief, under pretence of conspiracie and combination; to cut the throats of all banish'd men, and to murder all French men which should be found in Rome. (The first lest they should joyn with the Revolters, These as Complices and favourers of their Country men) To give up all France to the plunder of his Army; To poison the whole Senate at an entertainment; to burn the City, and to turn out wild Beafts amongst the people, that so obstructing their quenching of the fire, their destruction might be more inevitable. If he did not profecute his designs, it was not out of compunction fo much, as out of despair of effecting them. Being convinc'd that an expedition into those parts was but necessary, he turn'd out the Confuls before their term, and entred himself upon the Confulship in their steads, as if the fates had decreed, the French should never be fubdu'd but by one Conful. Having taken upon him the Rods as Marks of his Confulary authority, he march'd out of his Dining-room after dinner, loaning upon the shoulders of his most particular friends, and assiring them, that as foon as he arrived in the province, he would prefent himself naked without his Arms. before the Armies, and do nothing but weep. And that therebels fubmitting, and giving testimony of their

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their repentance, he would fing fongs of mirth and of Triumph amongst them; which fongs it was high

time for him to begin to Compose.

44. Amongst all the preparations for his voyage, the greatest care he took, was for Wagons convenient for the carriage of his Musical Instruments for the Theatre: to cut the hair of his Concubines after the fashion of men, and to arm them like Amazons with Battle Axes and shields. The next thing he did, was to cite the Tribes of the City, for the taking of the Oath, and no body appearing who was fit to bear arms, he commanded the Masters to send him in a certain number of flaves, felected out of the most approved persons of every family, not excepting either the stewards, or Secretaries, He required likewise all Orders and Degrees to contribute part of their Estates towards the expedition, according as they were rated in the Cenfors book. Lodgers also, and Tenants of the meanest houses he compell'd to pay an annual pension into his Exchequer: He was mighty rigid and curious in Money, not vouchfasing to receive any but what was rough and new coin'd, none but the fairest Silver, none but the finest Gold. Whereupon most people oppos'd themselves openly against this contribution, unanimously petitioning that all informers should be fearch'd rather, and forc'd to refund whatever they had received for their informations.

45. That which rendred this Emperour more grievous and insupportable was the unseasonable gain of the Monopolists, who made no small advantage by the scarcity of Corn. For it happing by accident that during this general dearth a Vessel from Alexandria laden with Sand, for the Wrestlers of his Court, arriving, The people conceived so great a

hatred against Nero, that they flew out into all the bitter and reviling expressions they could think of On the top of one of his Statues, they placed a Chariot with this inscription in Greek, Here lies the fress, and pull away. To the neck of another there was ty'd a Leather bag, with these words about it: Alas, what could I do? 'Tis you deserv'd the bag as a Parricide. Upon one of the Columns there was this Motto (alluding either to the French, or Cocks, by reason of the ambiguity of the Word Gallus, which fignifies both) Etiam Gallos eum cantando excitasse, That he had sung so loud he had awakened the French. or the very Cocks themselves; and people pretending to quarrel and chide their fervants, they were heard to cry out all night long (according to their ufual expression when they were abused) a Vindex, a Vindex.

46. Besides all these visible tokens of the hatred and contempt of the Romans, he was terrifi'd with horrible dreams, and all manner of ill prefages. When he had Murder'd his Mother, he dream'd (which he feldom or never had done before) that he was governing a Ship, and the Helm was wrested violently out of his hands; That his Wife Octavia, drew him by force in very narrow and dark places. One while he dream'd that he was cover'd over with multitudes of winged Ants. Another time that the Statues of noble men dedicated in the Theatre of Pompey, encompass'd him round, and hindred his That a Pad-Nag in which he took finguprogrets. lar delight, was in his hinder part transformed into an Ape, and that having no part left entire but his head, he feemed to fing as he neighed. The doors of the Mausoleum flying open of themselves a voice was heard, calling him diffinctly by his name. Upon

on the Calends of January, his Houshold-Gods were no fooner trickt up and adorned in preparation to a Sacrifice, but they fell down to the ground. As he was at his Ceremony in observing the Birds, upon his entrance into the Confulfhip, Sporus presented him with a Ring, upon the Stone of which was engraven the ravishment of Proserpina. All the Orders being met in great numbers, to make the accustomed Vows, the Keys of the Capitol were very hardly to be found. He made an Oration against Vindex in the Senate, and concluding it with these words, The wicked should be punish'd, and in a short time be brought to an end suitable to their actions; they all cryed out, Tu facies Auguste, It will be your case Augustus. It was observable also, that the last Play which he acted, and fung publickly, was OEDIPUS BANISH'D, and that concluded with these words;

My Father, Mother, Wife, and all, In just Revenge constrain my fall.

47. As he was at Dinner one day, Letters being brought him, importing the defection of the rest of the Armies, he tore them in pieces, overturn'd the Table, and broke two fair Crystal Cups, which he took great delight in, and call'd his Homericks, in respect of certain Verses out of Homer engraven upon them. And then having receiv'd poison of Locusta, he put it up in a Golden Box, and went immediately into the Orchards of the Servilii, from whence he dispatch'd the Freedmen which he had most considence in, to Ostia to prepare his Fleet; and in the mean time he sounded

the Tribunes, and Centurions of his Guards, whether they would accompany him in his flight: But fome of them shifting, and making difficulties, others positively refusing, one cryed out,

Usque adeone mori miserum est?

Is it so sad a thing to dye?

He was in a strong debate with himself, had several thoughts what to do, but could not refolve whether he should address himself to the Parthians, or Galba, in a supplicatory way; or whether he should put himself in Mourning, appear publickly before the Rostra, and with all possible humility and dejection implore their forgiveness for what was past, and if he found them inflexible, to beg then that at least the would vouchsafe him they Government of Agypt: 'To this purpose there was an Oration found afterwards amongst the rest of his Papers, but 'tis supposed he was deterr'd from delivering it, by an apprehension of being pull'd in pieces before he should come to the Tribunal. Having in this manner put off all thoughts till the next day, he was awaken'd about midnight, and understanding his Guards were drawn off and retired, he leap'd out of Bed, and sent about to his Friends for News; but receiving nothing from any of them, he went attended by very few to their feveral houses, where the doors being all shut, and no body to answer, he return'd to his Chamber, from whence his Guards were not only gone, but had taken away the Box with the poison, and all, to the very Clothes upon the Bed. In this desperate condition he fought for Spicillus a Gladiator, or some other fuch

fuch person, to be slain by them; but no body being to be found, Ergo (says he) nec amicum habeo, nec inimicum? What then? have I neither Friend nor Foe? and away he ran out, as if he would have thrown himself headlong into the Tiber.

48. But that humour having spent it felf, he began to think of some private place where he might lye close and obscure; whereupon one of his Freed-men called Phaon, offer'd him a Countreyhouse of his, about four miles from the City, betwixt the Salarian and Numentan Roads. Barefooted as he was then, and only in his Wastcoat, he threw an old dirty Cloak over himself, cover'd his head, and holding a Handkerchief before his face, he got on Horseback with only four persons in his Company, of which Sporus was one. No fooner was he upon his Journey, but he was infinitely difmay'd by a violent trembling of the Earth, and prodigious flashes of Lightning; and passing by the Camp, he heard a great noise of Souldiers cursing him, and wishing all good fortune and prosperity to Galba. He heard a Passenger say also as he went by, These people are in pursuit of Nero: And another ask'd him, What news of Nero in the City? His Horse scenting a dead carcass, which by accident at that time lay stinking in the way, started aside, and shaking off the covering of his face, he was known and faluted by one Missicius a Prætorian Souldier. Being come to the next turning, they forfook their Horfes, and betaking themselves to the bushes and bryars, thorow a small path in a reed ground, with much difficulty, and glad to put his Clothes under his feet, they arriv'd at last a Wall over against the house. In the mean time. whilft Bb

whilst he could find out a way to convey him in with more fecrecy, Phaon intreated him to conceal himself in a Sand-pit; but he refus'd, and told him He would never be buried alive: Then staying little while, till a more private access to the house was prepar'd, being dry, he took up water out of a ditch with his hand, and drinking he faid, This is Nero's decoction. Then clearing himself of the bryars, which had torn and hung upon his Cloathes, he march'd like a Beast upon all four, to a strait hole, thorow which he was drawn into the house: Being got into a Chamber, he threw himself upon a Bed with nothing but a pittiful Mattrice, and an old Cloak for a Coverlet: By degrees he began to be hungry and dry, whereupon they brought him a fort of brown course bread, which they had in the house, but he refused to eat it, only he supped a little lukewarm water.

49. All those who were about him, follicited him very earnestly to prevent those dangers and affronts which hung over his head; whereupon he commanded a Grave to be made in his prefence, the full dimension of his body, and gave order that what pieces of Marble-stones could be found, should be laid together, and that provision should be made of Water and Wood, ready for the washing and burning of his body; weeping at every word, and repeating feveral times, What an Artist will the World lose! Whilst these things were in agitation, a Messenger came in with Letters for Phaon, which he fnatch'd out of his hand, and reading in them, That he was declared Enemy to the State by the Senate, and that he was to be fought after and punish'd according to Cuftom: ul

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Custom: He demanded what kind of punishment that was; and being told, that he was to be stript flark naked, that his head was to be held up with a Fork, and in that posture to be whipt to death, he was fo terrified, that he fnatch'd up a couple of Daggers, which he carried about him, and trying their points, he put them up again, pretending his Fatal hour was not yet come: One while he desir'd Sporus to begin his plaints and lamentations, another while he turned about to fuch as were near him, and defired that some of them would instruct him how to dye, by killing themselves first; fometimes he would blame and condemn his own pufillanimity, in these words, I live, 'tis true, but basely and dishonourably; it is not handsome, Nero, it is not handsome; in such cases as this you must be watchful: Courage Nero, rouze up thy spirits. Whilst he was in this conflict, he heard the noise of the Horsemen, which were sent with order to bring him alive to Rome; then more frighted than ever, he cry'd out in a Greek Verse, A dismal noise of Horses strikes mine ear; clapt a Dagger to his throat, but not having heart enough to thrust it in, he was forced to be beholding to Epaphroditus his Secretary for his affistance. Before he was quite dead, an Officer came in, and feigning he was come to his relief, he stopt his Cloak in the wound, and endeavour'd to stench the bloud; to whom Nero gave no answer but this, 'Tis too late, and Is this your Fidelity and Allegiance? with which expression he expired, his eyes fix'd and staring out of his head, to the terrour and amazement of all that were prefent. That which he recommended, and most importunately defired of the Company which at-B b 2 tended

tended him, was, That his Head might not be cut off and given to any body, but that by all means his whole body might be burnt together: And Icelus (a Freed-man of Galba's, who not long before was deliver'd out of Prison, where he had been put upon the noise of the first tumult) granted his desire.

of 200000 Sefterces, his Corps being covered with write Silk Tissued with Gold, (the same he had worn upon the Calends of January;) His ashes were put by Ecloge, and Alexandria, his Nurses, and Aste his Concubine, into the Monument belonging to the House of Domitii his Ancestors, which is yet to be seen out of Mars his Field, upon the top of a Hill in the Hortyards; the foundation of which Sepulchre is of Porphyre, the Altar upon it of Marble of Lana, senc'd about with

Thasian Stone.

si. His stature was almost of a middle fize; his body full of spots and freckles, besides an ill skin: His hair was fomewhat yellow; his complexion and countenance rather fair, than well-favour'd; his eyes dull and gray; his neck fat; his belly big, and hanging down; his legs fmall; and very healthful: For notwithstanding his immoderate Luxury and Debauchery, in fourteen years time he was ill but thrice, and that so slightly, that he neither abstain'd from Wine, nor any of his old extravagancies. In his habit he was fordid; he fuffer'd his hair to grow long, and made it up into plaits: In his Journey into Achaia, he pull'd it down behind longer than formerly, from the Crown of his head: For the most part in publick he appeared in a Garment called Synthesis, with a HandHandkerchief about his neck, without either Gir-

dle or Shooes.

52. From his Infancy he was instructed in all the Liberal Sciences, but his Mother put him off the study of Philosopy, as beneath a person that was to be Emperour: And Seneca his Tutor kept him from the knowledge of the Ancient Orators, that he might keep him the longer in admiration of himself. Being naturally addicted to Poetry. he made Verses easily, and unconstrained; and those persons are mistaken, which believe he put forth other peoples Works for his own. I have had in my hands fome of his Writing-Tables and Books, wherein those Verses were very well known to be written with his own hand; and it easily appears, they were neither transcribed by him, nor dictated by another man, being fo blotted, interlined, and corrected, it was clear they were done by himself, as now fancies and representations came into his mind.

53. He took great delight in Painting, and Embolling; but above all he was transported with a desire of being popular, and most immoderately emulous of any one who gain'd any thing upon the approbation or affections of the people, in what manner soever it were. There was a report, that having won the prize upon the Theatre, he resolved the next Olympiads, to have try'd his fortune there amongst the Champions, for he practised Wrestling continually; nor was he ever present at any of those Grecian Combates, but he sate down upon the ground within the Lists, amongst the Umpires and Judges, and if any of the Combata its retreated too far, he thrust them back again

B b 3

into the middle, with his own hands. His flatterers having rendered him so vain and idle, as to believe he was already equal to Apollo in his skill in Musick, and to the Sun in managing his Chariot, he designed to imitate the actions of Hercules; and it is said, there was a Lyon prepared, which he was to kill with a Club, or to throttle, by clasping his arms about its neck, stark naked in the Amphitheatre, before all the

people.

death, he promis'd publickly if he continued fafe and undisturbed in his Authority, after he had obtained the Victory, he would be present himself upon the Theatre, and present them with an Organ playing only by the motion of water, with Hautbois, loud Musick, a Bag-pipe, and the last day he would play the Mimick, and personate Turnus in Virgil. Some Authors have writ, that he ordered Paris the Comedian to be killed, as an adversary he was jealous of exceedingly.

33. An ambition he had of perpetuating and reternizing his memory, but it was foolish and inconsiderate; for which reason he altered the antient Names of several things, and gave them others of his own. He called the month of April, Neroneus; and designed to have had Rome called

Neropolis.

166. He was a despiser of all Religions, untless of the Syrian Goddess; which notwithstanding a while after he used as the rest, and retained so little reverence or respect for her, that he pissed upon her Statue, and ingaged himself in another Superstition, in which alone he he continued pertinacious and firm to the last:
For a mean and unknown man, having presented him with the Image of a young Maid,
as a remedy against all Conspiracies, and a
Plot happening to be discover'd against him,
as it were just at the same time, he attributed it to the Image, and for ever after held
it for a Soveraign Deity; Sacrificed to it constantly three times a day, and perswaded all people
that he had advertisement from her of all suture contingencies. Some sew months before
he died, he consulted the entrails of Beasts, but
he found nothing there but what was ominous
and funest.

57. He died in the two and thirtieth year of his age, on the same day on which he had formerly tlain Octavia. The joy was so great and universal when he dyed, that the people ran up and down the Streets with Caps upon their heads, in token of their Liberty. Yet there were fome which for a long time after deck'd up his Tomb, with fuch Flowers as the Spring, and Summer did afford; brought his Images dress'd up in Purple before the Rostra, and fometimes his Edicts, as if he had been living, and to return in a short time to the confusion of his Enemies: And Vologosus King of the Parthians, sending Ambassadors to the Senate to renew his Alliance, pres'd above all things, that the memory of Nero might be made venerable to posterity. In short, in the time when I was a Youth, a person whose condition and quality was unknown, having the confidence to fay he was Nero, twenty years after he was dead; his very Name was B b 4

The Life of Nero Cafar.

fo grateful to the Parthians, that they espoused his Quarrel, assisted him vigorously, and put the Senate to no small trouble, before they delivered him up to be punished.

Cains

FR. STERICIUS, GALE



## SER SULPICIUS GALBA



Caius Suetonius Tranquillus, OFTHE TWELVE CÆSARS.

## SEVENTH BOOK,

Being the

## LIFE

SER. SULPICIUS GALBA,

THE SEVENTH
Emperour of ROME.

HE Race of the Cafars failed in the perfon of Nero, which was prefaged by feveral figns, but especially by two. Not long after Livia was married to Augustus, having a desire to visit a Countrey-house which she had in the Territory of the Veii; as she was in her journey an Eagle slying over her head, with

with a white Chicken in her foot, and a branch of Laurel in its mouth, as she had taken it from the Ground, it happen'd she let it fall just into Liviaes lap, Livia looking upon it as an Omen, gave order for the Chicken to be brought up, and the branch of Laurel to be planted. The young Hen proved fo fertile, that from the multitude of Chickens which she produc'd the house is called ad Galenas to this day, and the Laurel encreas'd fo fast. That the Cafars being to triumph gathered their Laurel Crowns out of the Groves which proceeded from that branch; And whereas it was the custom for all fuch as were to triumph, to plant others immediately in the places of those they had pull'd up: it was observed that near the time of their several deaths, the branches which each of them fet, began to wither and die. Accordingly in the last year of Nero's life, not only the branches which he had planted, but the whole Grove dryed up at the roots and perish'd, and all the white Hens of that prodigious progeny, miscarried and died. Not long after the Temple of the Cafars was struck with lightming, the heads of all their Statues thrown down, and the Scepter also which Augustus held in his hand.

2. After Nero, Galba succeeded, who had no kindred or alliance with the House of the Casars, though he was of noble and antient extraction without doubt: for in the Titles and inscriptions upon all his Statues, he writ himself alwaies Great Grand-child to Q. Catulus Capitolinus. And when he was Emperour he set up a Pedigree in his Court, by which he derived himself from Jupiter by the Fathers side, and from Pasiphae the Wise of Minos King of Crete, by the Mother. To give a

particular account of the Statues and Elogies of his whole family, would be too long, I shall content my felf to touch only (and that but slightly) upon

his own branch, and no more.

3. Upon what ground or occasion the first of the Sulpicii took upon them the name of Galba, is doubtful and uncertain. Some would have it, that having been kept out of a Town in Spain for a long time, he fet it on fire at length with bundles of sticks rubb'd over with Galbanum. Others, that in a long Distemper, he used Remedies wrapt up in Wool, which he called Galbeum. Others, by reason of his fatness, which among the Gauls was termed Galba. Or elfe on the contrary, because he was slender, like the little worms in the Esculi which are named Galbe likewise. This family became very illustrious by Sergins Galba who had been Conful, and was eminent for the most eloquent man of his time, who by report was the cause of the War with Viriatus; for having by perfidious treachery against the Portugals caus'd thirty thousand of them to be cut off, when he had the Government of Spain as Prætor: His Grand-child imputing the loss of his Confulship to the ill offices of Julius Cafar (whose Lieutenant he was in Gaul) was in the Conspiracy with Cassins and Brutus, for which he was afterward condemn'd by the Law Pedia. From this person the Grandfather and Father of Galba are descended. The Grandfather was more famous for his studies, than for any authority he had in the Common-wealth; for though he was not advanc'd above the degree of a Prætor, yet he put out feveral Histories very learn-His Father past the honourable ed and elaborate. office of Conful, though he was a very little man and hunch back'd, and though he had no great fa-

culty in Oratory, yet he pleaded with great induftry at the Bar. His first Wife was Mummia Achai. ca the Grand-daughter of Catulus, the Great. Grand-daughter of L. Mummius who took Corinth and raz'd it. His second Wife was Livia Ocellina. who though she was very handsome and rich, defir'd his alliance, because of his Nobility, and the more passionately, after Galba had taken her aside, and pulling off his Robe discovered to her the imperfection of his shape, that she might not be deceived, and reproach him by it afterwards. Achaica he had two Sons, Caius and Servius, Cains the elder brother having wasted his estate with his extravagant profusion, forfook the City and lived out of Rome; and being hindred by Tiberius from putting in his Lot for the Pro-Confulship, in his year, he took it to heart, and made himself away.

4. The Emperour Galba was born in the 22d. of December, Mar. Valerius Meffala, and Cn. Lentu lus being Confuls, in a Countrey Town at the foot of a hill near Terracinum on the left hand of the road towards Fondi. Being adopted by his Mother-in-law, he took upon him the name of Livius, and the furname Ocella, changing his pranomen also, for a while, afterward instead of Lucius he call'd himfelf Sergius, and retained that name till he came to be Emperour. It is reported for certain, that as he was one day amongst other boys of his own age faluting of Augustus, Augustus laid his hand upon his Cheek, and told him in Greek, And thou also my Son shalt have a tast of our Empire; Tiberius understanding by Astrology that Galba should be Emperour, but not till he was an old man: Let him live in Gods name (faid he) seeing it concerns not us. One day

day as his Grand-father was facrificing for the expiation of a flash of lightning, an Eagle snatch'd away the entrailes of the Victime out of his hands, and carried them hard by upon an Oak laden with Acorns. The South-fayers being confulted thereupon, gave answer that it portended Empire and Dominion in his Family, but that it would be long before it happen'd. He reply'd fmiling, Tes indeed that will be when a Mule brings forth a Fole. And afterwards when Galba attempted new troubles, nothing confirm'd and incourag'd him fo much, as the Foleing of a Mule: For when every one besides abhorr'd that Omen as obscene, and execrable, he alone interpreted it fortunate, remembring the aforefaid facrifice, and the expression of his Grand-father. When he first put on his Virile Robe de dream'd one night that he faw Fortune, and that she told him, That she was now standing before his doors, very weary, and that if she were not presently received in, she should be a prey to the first that passed by. When he wak'd in the morning, as foon as the Court gate was open'd, he found an Image of that Goddess in brass about a Cubit long, lying before the door, which he took up, put it into his lap, and carried it to Tusculum, where he was wont to pass away the Summer, and having confecrated a part of his house, he paid his devotions to it once a Month, and adored it with a Vigil every year. Although he had not attain'd to the age of a Man, yet he forbare not firictly to observe an old custom which was now obsolete, and not practis'd in the whole City, but in his house, which was to have his freed-men as well as Vassals present themselves twice a day before him, in the morning to falute him, and the evening to bid him good night.

4. He was well vers'd in all the Liberal Sciences, as likewise in the Civil Law: He entred into the State of Matrimony alfo, but when his Wife Lepida, and two Sons he had by her died, he continued a fingle man ever after in spight of all the opportunities he had to advance himself, and the continual Solicitations of Acrippina (by the death of Domitius become a Widdow) who in his Wifes time had to great a passion for him, That in a meeting of the great Ladies, the Mother of Lepida upbraided her with it, and gave her fome cuffs with her fift into the bargain: But above all he had the greatest honour for Livia Augusta, who had as great a value for him while she lived, and at her death left him vast riches by her Will, and 50 Millions of Sefterces more than the rest, but because the sum was set down in figures, and not at length, her heir Tiberius reduc'd his whole Legacy to halfa Million, and that was never paid neither.

6. He was advanc'd into places of trust, before the age appointed by Law during his Prætorship. Amongst the folemnities, and sports called Floralia, he introduc'd a new kind of entertainment, which was Elephants walking upon the Rope. A while after he was made Governour of Aquitain, and executed it almost for a twelve month, and then the Confulship for fix months; and it happen'd in the administration of that office, Galba succeeded L. Domitius the Father of Nero, and Salvius Otho, the Father of Otho the Emperour, succeeded Galba, as it had been a presage of what was to fall out afterwards, he hapning to be Emperour in the midst betwixt their two Sons. Being substituted by C. Cafar in the place of Getulicus, the next day after he arrived at the Army, observing the Souldiers at a Spe-

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chacle giving their applauses and approbations by an obstreperous clapping of their hands, he restrain'd them forthwith, and gave them this Order, to keep their hands under their Cloaks: Whereupon this saying went round about the camp, Disce miles militare, Galba est, non Gatulicus.

Come Souldiers learn strict Discipline to fear, For Galba, not Gætulicus is here.

With the fame discipline and severity, he command ed all persons to their Colours, forbidding any application for paf-ports or Tickets. Both the new and Veteran Legions, he kept in continual exercise, fortifying them thereby, and making them more able for the Wars. Afterwards with incredible diligence having repelled the Barbarians, who had made an inrode even as far as Ganl, he fo fignalized himself and Army in the presence of Caligula, That amongst the multitudes of Troops which he had drawn together out of all his Provinces, there were none deferv'd more honour, nor received greater recompence than they: And that which added much to his lustre and reputation was, that he Marshall'd the Justs and Tournaments in the open field, with great Conduct and Decorum, bearing his Target in his hand all the while, and another time ran by the Emperours Chariot above twenty miles togetheres . h revoque od b

7. When the news of the murder of Caligula arrived, many persons excited him to take the advantage of that opportunity, and set up for himself; but

he preferred quietness and ease: by which action he wrought himself so much into the fayour of Claudius, that he received him into the number of his most intimate friends, and had fo great an esteem for him, that being upon an Expedition into Great Britain, he put off the day fet for his departure, upon a bare and flight indisposition which befell Galba on a fudden. Africk being troubled with intestine diforders, and the Tumults of the Barbarians, without drawing Lots according to Custome, he was chosen Pro-consul into that Province; where he remained two years, fetled their affairs, and ordered all things with great justice and punctuality o even oin the final eft transactions. 219 There obeing a great fearcity of Victuals in this Expedition, one of his Souldiers was forcovetous as to fell a certain measure of Corn for a hundred Deniers, which faid measure was all he had remaining of his allowance : Whereupon Galba commanded; that when that Souldier should want A no berion should dare to supply him a land his orders being obey'd, the Souldier was flary'd was to his impartiality in his administration of the flice, he gave a handsome vexample of itoin determining about the propriety of a Horfe il for the proofs on either fide being imperfect, and not sofficient to discover the truth, he ordered the Horse to be led with his head cover'd; to the Pont where he need to be watered, and that when the had drank, his head should be uncover'd, and he should be his Horse to whose Stable he went direct. ly afterwards of mid bations another yours oTge&f that opportunity, and fet up for havele, b

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8. To recompence his late Noble Exploits in Africk, and his deportment of old in Germany, he was honoured with the Triumphal Ornaments, a Triple Sacerdotal dignity, and received into the Society of the Titii, and Augustal Priests. From that time, to the midst of Nero's reign, he lived for the most part privately and retired; never stirring abroad fo much as to take the air, but he had a Chariot with him with a million of Sefterces of Gold in it (ready in case there should happen any necessity of his flight) and in this condition he continued till he came to refide in Fundi, and the Regency of Hifpania Tarraconensis was offer'd to him: At his entrance into that Province, as he facrificed in one of the Publick Temples, it happened a boy then Ministring among the rest, and holding the Cenfor, had his head turned Grey of a sudden; nor were there those wanting who interpreted it to import some great revolution, and that an old man should succeed a young, that is to say, Galba should Nero. Not long after there fell a Thunderbolt into the Lake of Cantabria, in which presently thereupon there were twelve Axes found, an undoubted presage of Soveraign Dominion.

o. For eight years together he Governed his Province with great inequality; at first he was very rigorous and severe, and immoderate in his chastisements. A Banker being convict of fraud and roguery in his profession, he commanded both his hands to be cut off and nailed to his Compter. He caused a Guardian to be Crucified, for poisoning his Pupil, as being his next Heir; The Criminal imploring the benefit of the Law, and urging himself a Ci-

tizen of Rome, He ordered his Cross should be chang'd, and that instead of the Former, they should set up another, much higher, and of a whiter colour than ordinary; as if that honour would have given him some ease and consolation in his afflictions; By degrees he abated of this vigour, and became negligent, and careless, and all because he would give Nero no occasion of Jealousie; it being his usual expression, That no man is oblig'd to give an accompt of his doing nothing. As he held his Judicial affizes in new Carthage, he had intelligence that the Gaules were in Commotion, and as the Lieutenant in Aquitain was begging supplies, there arrived Letters from Vindex exhorting him, To declare himself in the behalf of all Mankind, and to take upon him the principal Command. He embrac'd the proposition without any considerable debate; partly out of fear, and partly out of hope; for besides that he had discovered private Orders fent by Nero to his Agents there, to make him away, he was much incouraged by feveral favourable Omens, but especially by the Prediction of a young Virgin of good quality, which corresponded exactly with a Prophecie to the same purpose two hundred years before. The sence of it was this, That one day the Soveraign Prince, and Lord of the whole earth should arise out of Spain.

nal, as it were with defign to enfranchize fome of the flaves, and having the Images of feveral persons set before him which had been condemned and executed by Nero, and a young Noble Man by him, which he had sent for on purpose from the nearest Island of the Baleares

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where he was then in banishment; he deplored the lamentable condition of the times, and being faluted Emperour by general confent, he protested, He was only a Servant and Lieutenant to the Senate and People. After this having published a Vacation from all Judicial proceedings he listed out of the meaner fort of people in that Province certain Legions, and Auxiliary Troops to reinforce his old Army, which confifted of one Legion, two Wings and three Cohorts. Having finished his Levies, he felected a certain number out of the principal persons for age and experience, and disposed them into the form of a Senate. to confult and deliberate about affairs of the greatest importance, as occasion did offer. He made choice likewise of some of the young Gentlemen of the Equestrian Order, who (retaining the use of their Golden Rings) should be called Evocati, or Appoints, and be as a Guard and Watch about his Chamber, inflead of Souldiers. He fent out his Edicts likewife through all the Provinces, inviting all persons to join with him, and particularly to give what affistance they could, to the Com-About the fame time as they mon Caufe. were fortifying a Town which he design'd for the feat of the War, there was a Ring found of great antiquity, upon the stone whereof was engraven the picture of Victory with a Trophy; and a while after an Alexandrian fnip came into Dertofa, laden with Arms, without either Pilot, Seaman, or Passenger in it: so that no man could doubt the justice of a War commenc'd with fo many favourable intimati-

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ons from the Gods. But all thefe hopes and defignes had like to have been blafted on a fudden, by an unexpected diforder, for as he approached the Camp, one of the Wings of Horse repenting of the new Oath they had taken, endeavoured what they could to defert him, and it was no finall pains to keep them to their duty. He escaped very narrowly likewife the conspiracy of several slaves (with which a freed-man of Nero's had prefented him on purpose) who had questionless slain him as he past through a narrow street to go to his Baths, had they not discovered themselves by exhorting one another, not to lose so fair an opportunity, for being interrogated what opportunity they meant, and not giving the fatisfaction was expected, they were given the torture, and confest.

11. Upon the neck of these misfortunes followed the death of Vindex; which reduc'd him to that desperate consternation, he was almost like a mad-man, and was once in the mind to have made himself away. But advice coming in from Rome in the nick, affuring him that Nero was dead too, and all people had taken an Oath of Allegiance to him there; he laid aside the name of Lieutenant, and assumed the Title of Cafar; after which he put himself upon his way, in his Imperial Coat, with a dagger fastned about his neck, and hanging down before his breaft; neither would he appear in a Robe or Gown, till all they who were contriving new troubles were defeated and cut off, as namely Miniphedus Sabinus, Captain of the Guards at Rome; Fonteius Capito LieuteLieutenant in Germany, and Clodius Macer in

Africa.

2. There was a rumour spread abroad both of his cruelty and avarice, by reason of the unusual rigour he had exercised towards the Cities in Spain and Gaul, which had scrupled joining with him at first, by oppressing them with excessive tributes, dismantling their Garrisons, cutting off the heads of their Governours, and not excusing so much The Tarraconenas their Wives and Children. fes having presented him with a Crown of Gold taken out of the Temple of Jupiter, and weighing as they affirmed 15 pound, he caused it to be melted down, and finding it to be three ounces lighter than they pretended, he constrain'd them to make it good. This report was confirmed and increast at his entrance into Rome; For he immediately reduced fuch Marriners (as Nero had taken from the Oar, and lifted amongst his Legal Souldiers,) to their former condition; and they refusing with great contumacy and perverseness to submit to an order so much to their difadvantage, demanded the Eagle, and military Enfigns most impudently, whereupon he commanded his Horse to fall upon them and disperse them, and not contented with that, he caus'd them to be decimated afterwards. Besides this he reform'd the German Cohort, which had been establisht by the Casars of old as a Guard to their Bodies, and good testimony they had given all along of their allegiance, and fidelity: notwithstanding he dismiss them without any reward, and fent them packing into their own Country, pretending they were more inclin'd to Cn. Dolabella than him, because they had encamped themselves not far from his Gardens. Many things are reported too, of the meannefs, and wretchedness of his CC4 hu-

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humour (but whether true or false I cannot tell) as that when his Table was better furnish'd than ordinary, he would sigh and weep; That when his Steward brought him an abstract of his accompts one time he lik'd his frugality very well, and gave him a dish of Pease for his pains; another time being much pleased with Canoes playing upon the Flute, he pulled out five deniers out of his pocket, and gave them to him very nobly with his own hand.

13. Upon these accompts his arrival at Rome was not so grateful to the people, as it appear'd at the first spectacle after his Entrance, for the Atellan Comedians having begun an old song with these words,

Venit io Simus à Villa.

That Churlish Simus, that old Clown, Has left his Village for the Town.

The Spectators took the Cue, and (as by common

consent) repeated the rest.

vith more authority, and affection from the people, than he Govern'd it afterwards. For though he did many things worthy of so great a Prince, yet those actions were not so acceptable as his other were odious. He suffer'd himself to be manag'd absolutely by three persons, who having their Lodgings with him in his Palace, and being alwayes at his elbow, were commonly call'd his Pedagogues. Their names were

were T. Vinius his Lieutenant in Spain, a man of infatiable covetousness, Cornelius Laco, of a simple Counsellor and assistant, advanc'd to be Captain of the Guards, who had rendred himself insupportable by his arrogance and pride, and Icelus a freed-man. whom the Emperour having lately honoured with the priviledge of a Golden Ring, and the furname of Martianus, aspired now to the highest command of the Equestrian Order. Those three favourites (whose vices were so different) abus'd the authority of the Emperour with fo much insolence, that they made him appear by the inequality of his conduct, to be scarce his own man; sometimes he was violent, fometimes referv'd, fometimes more remifs and negligent than was convenient for a Prince of his age, or their Election. By their perswasion he condemn'd feveral illustrious persons of both Orders, upon the flightest suspicion, without hearing them, or the least form of justice in the world. He feldom granted the freedom of a Citizen of Rome to any man. The priviledge and exemption for having three children, he granted with much ado to one or two persons, yet it was but for a certain and limited time. The Judges making it their folemn request to have a fixt Decurie added to what they had before, he not only denied them that favour, but took away that priviledge which Claudius had granted them: which was, that they should not be oblig'd to hold their Terms or Hearings in winter, or the beginning of the year.

15. It was supposed likewise he had a design to limit and restrain the Continuation of the Offices of the Knights and Senators, to the space of two years, and to conferr them upon none but such as did seriously decline them. He revoked the Liberalities of

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Nero, and reduc'd them to a renth part, giving Commission to fifty of his Roman Knights, to collect the remainder for him; with authority, That if any Comedian or Champion had fold what Nero had given them, and imbezel'd or spent the Consideration they received, in that Case they might exact and recover it upon the persons which had purchas'd it. On the contrary, there was not any thing, but by the mediation of his Favourites and Freed-men. he fuffer'd either to be bought for money, or granted for favour; as Taxes, Exemptions, punishment of Innocents, impunity for Criminals, &c. Amongst others he pardon'd Halotus, and Tigillinus, (two the most notoriously pernitious Instruments which Nero imploy'd) though the people of Rome were very folicitous to have had them punish'd. And as if this had not been fufficient to disoblige them, he preferred Halotus to a most honourable Charge; and appear'd fo far in the justification of Tigillinus, that he publish'd an Edict in his behalf, and upbraided the people with their leverity.

16. These injustices represented him very black to most Degrees, but principally to the Souldiers; For when they who were appointed in his absence to tender them the Oath, did promise in his Name a larger Donative than was ordinary, he not only refused to consirm it, but declared openly, It had been bis custom to choose, not to purchase his Souldiers; by which means he exasperated all of them, as well those which were absent, as present. Moreover he provoked his Prætorians not a little, by cashiering several of them a while after, upon a bare suspicion of Consederacy with Nymphidius. But the Army in

Germany mutiny'd more than the rest, complaining that they were defrauded of their Rewards, for the good Services they had done both against Vindex, and the Gauls. They were the first therefore which brake out into open disobedience; for having the first of January, refus'd to swear Allegiance to any but to the Senate, they immediately dispatch'd a Message to the Prætorians, to remonstrate, That they could not acquiesce in an Emperour made in Spain, and that they would proceed to the Election of such a one, as might be acceptable to all the Armies.

17. Galba no sooner understood these transactions, fuppoling they despised him more for want of Children, than his Old Age, he resolved to adopt one; and casting his eye upon Piso Frugi Licinia. nus, (a young Gentleman for whom he had alwayes a great esteem, and in all his Wills had made him his Heir) he took him out of the throng, which were come at that time to bid him Good morrow, and pronouncing him his Son, he carried him to the Camp, and in the presence of the Souldiers adopted him, but without any mention of the Largess they had been promis'd before: By which he gave fo fair an occasion to the delignes of Salvius Otho, that he accomplished them within six dayes after the said adoption.

18. From the very beginning of his Empire, his misfortunes were denounc'd by frequent and confiderable Prodigies: As he was on his Journey to Rome, all the Towns through which he pass'd, doing Sacrifice for his happy arrival; a Bull being amazed and affrighted with the blow of the Axe, and break-

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ing the Ropes wherewith he was tyed, ran violently upon his Chariot, and leaping upon him with his fore-feet, all dedaub'd him with blood: And as afterwards he alighted, one of his Guards being push'd forwards by the Crowd, had like to have wounded him with his Lance. His entrance into the City, and Palatium both, was attended with a great trembling of the Earth, and a noise like the Lowing of a Beast. After which there follow'd other prefages, more manifestly dreadful: Amongst all his Tewels he had felected and laid by one, fet very rich with Pearls and Precious Stones, which he intended to present as an Ornament to his Goddess Fortune at Tusculum; but on a sudden, conceiving it worthy of a more magnificent place, he dedicated it to Venus Capitolina: The next night he dream'd, he faw the Image of Fortune complaining, that she had been defrauded of her Present, and threatning in the same manner to take from him, what she had formerly bestow'd. Being affrighted at this Vision, he got up by break of day, in order to his Expiation, dispatching his Officers before to Tusculum to prepare all things ready for a Sacrifice at his arrival: But when he came thither, he found nothing but a few warm Embers upon the Altar, and an Old Man in black fitting hard by, with Incense in a Glass Vessel in one hand, and Wine in an Earthen Cup in the other. It was observ'd also, that when he Sacrificed upon the Calends of January, his Crown fell off of his head; as he took his Auspices, the Pullets flew away. On the day of the aforesaid adoption, when he was to make a Speech to the Souldiers, by the forgetfulness of his Servants, his Castrensian Chair was not set before the Tribunal according to Custom; and when he was to fit down in the Senate, his Curule Chair was

was placed perverfly with the back towards

19. Not long before he was flain, as he was Sacrificing one morning, he who had the infpection of the Entrails, admonish'd him several times to have a care, for there was danger impending, and his murderers were not far off. A while after, word was brought him, that Otho had possessed himself of his Guards Camp, whereupon he was advised by his Friends to repair immediately to them, feeing by his presence and authority he might possibly compose them; but instead of following their Counsel, herefolv'd only to look to the fecurity of his Person, by rallying uphis Legionary Guards, which were at that time dispersed in their Quarters. He put on also a Linen Curass well quilted, yet not sufficient (as he faid himself) to defend him against the points of fo many Swords. But the Conspirators to draw and allure him abroad, into the open Streets, had fpread abroad false reports, that the Tumult was appealed, that the Authors were kill'd, and that the rest were coming to congratulate his success, and to promise him all dutiful obedience for the future; whereupon giving too much credit to their intelligence, he went forth to meet them, with fo much confidence and fecurity, that a Souldier boalting publickly, he had flain Otho with his own hand, he . ftopp'd him, and demanded, By whose Authority; and advanc'd immediately into the Forum. The Horsemen who had order to kill him, having difpers'd the Peafants, and put them out of the way, put on, till perceiving him at a distance, they made a Halt for a while; but then clapping Spurs again to their Horses, they fell upon him and murder'd him.

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20. Some there are which report, that at their first infult, he cryed out to them, Fellow Souldiers, What do you do? am not I yours, and you mine? and that he promised them their Donative; but most Authors affure us, that he submitted his throat freely to them, and willed them, (fince it was their pleafures) to do their work, and strike without fear. was not a little strange, that amongst all that were present, not one person attempted any thing in his rescue; and that the Souldiers which were sent for. rejected his Orders, except only one Troop of German Horse, who in acknowledgement of the care he had taken of them in their ficknesses, and fatigues, ran to him with all speed; but mistaking their way, they arrived too late. He was flain not far from the Lake Curtius, and his body left as they had kill'd him, till a Common Souldier returning from Forrage, laid down his burden, and cut off his head: and because by reason of his baldness, he could not take it by the hair, he hid it in his lap, and by and by thrust his thumb into the mouth of it, and in that pollure catried it to Otho; who gave it to the Pedees, and Servants of the Camp; and they having fixed it upon a Spear, carried it with great acclamations round about the Camp, repeating these words very often, Now Galba you may take your sportful Time. which provok'd them especially to that infolent expreflion, was, that there was a Story among the people, how not many dayes before, hearing one commending the shape and vigour of his body, IGulba was so vain as to say, I am yet lusty and in prime; of them, a Freed-man of Patrobius Necromienus bought the head, for a hundred pieces of Gold, and flung it into the fame place where his Patron (Patrobius) was formerly Executed by the Com-Some

Command of Galba: At length (though late) his Steward Argundburied both his Head and his Trunk together, in his private Gardens near the way durelia.

nor too tall, his head bald, his eyes grey, his nofe aquiline, his hands and feet noded, and distorted with the Gout, infomuch that he could neither endure a shooe upon one, nor had strength to hold a book, or turn over the leaves with the other: besides on his right side he had an excrescence of slesh, which hung down so, as it was hardly to be kept up with a

fwathing band.

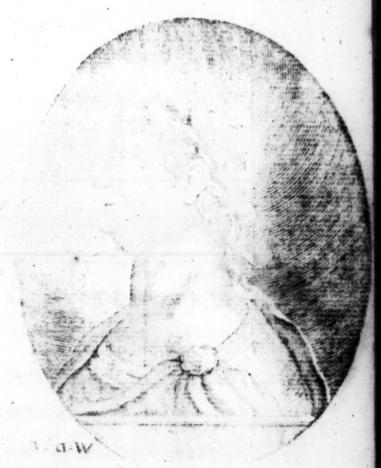
22. He was reported to be a great feeder, and that in winter time he had his breakfast usually before it was day. As to his suppers they were so plentiful, that the relicks and reversions being gather'd together in heaps, he commanded them to be carried about and distributed amongst those which stood waiting at his feet: he was too much inclined to an unnatural affection for Boyes, especially fuch as were old, and past the Concupiscence of other people; if we may believe what was publickly discours'd in Spain, Icelus one of his old Catamites bringing him word that Nero was flain, he not only received him with a thousand Caresses, but intreated him to have his hair pluckt immediately, according to the Custome of those kind of persons, and took him aside when he had done.

23. He was flain in the feventy third year of his age, and the feventh Month of his Empire. The Senate upon their first opportunity Decreed him a Statue, to be set up upon a pillar adorned with the Stems of Ships, in that part of the Fo-

rum where he lost his life; but Vespasian repealed that Decree, upon an opinion that Galba had formerly brib'd, and dispatch'd a certain person privately out of Spain into Judaa on purpose to murder him.

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#### M.SELVIUS OTHO



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# Cains Snetonius Tranquillus, OFTHE TWELVE CÆSARS.

#### THE EIGHTH BOOK,

Being the

### LIFE

OF

#### MARCUS SALVIUS OTHO

THE EIGHTH
Emperour of ROME.

HE Ancestors of Otho, had their Original in a Town called Ferentinum; it was an antient and honourable Family, and descended from the Princes of Etruria. M. Salvius Otho, the Grandfather, (whose Father was of the Equestrian Order, though his Mothers condition was so mean, it is not known D d 2 whether

whether she was Free-born or not) was brought up in the house of Livia Augusta, and by her Favour made a Senator, but arriv'd to no higher Charge than the Prætorship: His Father, Lucius Otho, was Nobly descended by the Mother side, had so many and so confiderable Allies, was so dear to Tiberius, and refembled him so much, that many believ'd he was his Son. He acquitted himself very worthily, and with the reputation of a strict Magistrate, in all his Offices in the City, in his Pro-Confulship in Africk, and in his extraordinary Commands. Certain Souldiers having repented themselves of being engaged in the Sedition of Camillus, killed their Captains as Authors of that revolt against Claudins; but Otho who was then in Illyrium, had the courage to command their heads to be cut off, not only in his own presence, but in the midst of the Camp, though he understood very well, that Claudius had approv'd, and advanc'd them for what they had done. This action of his augmented his Glory, but was for some time adiminution to his Favour; yet he foon recover'd it, by the detection of a Confpiracy against Claudius by a Roman Knight, whose Servants had discover'd it to him. The Senate conferr'd an extraordinary honour upon him, erecting a Statue for him in the Palatium; and Claudius having rais'd him to the Rank of the Patricians, after he had commended him largely, concludes with this Elogie; He is so excellent a person, I would not wish to have any better Children of my own. His wife was called Albia Terentia, a very honourable Lady, by whom he had two Sons, L. Titianus, and Marcus who carried the Surname of his Father. He had likewife by her one Daughter, which he contracted to Drusus the Son of Germanicus, before the was marri-2. The ageable.

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2. The Emperour Otho was born the 27th. of April, Camillus Arantiu: and Domitius Anobarbus being Confuls; From his very youth he was fo prodigal and perverse, his Father was constrain'd to chastife him feveral times. It is reported, he had a Custom of running up and down the Streets in the night, and where he met with any unable to relift him, either being too weak, or in drink, he feized upon him, fpread his Cloak upon the ground, and putting him into it, had him toffed in the air. His Father dying, not long after he address'd himself to a Lady of the Court, in no small favour with the Emperour; and that his Courtship might turn to the better accompt, he pretended a most passionate affection, though his Mistress was so old, she was almost decrepit. By her means he infinuated into the favour of Nero, and preferv'd himself without much difficulty among the chiefest of his Friends, by reason of the conformity of their humours, and (as some say) their mutual prostitutions. In effect, his interest and authority was so great, that having contracted for a considerable recompence, if he brought off a man of Confular degree, (who was at that time question'd for Extortion)he had the confidence to bring him into the Senate to give them thanks, before they had fully granted his restitution.

3. Being his Privado in this manner, and acquainted with all his intrigues, that day which Nero designed for the killing of his Mother, he invited them both to a Supper, and treated them with all possible magnificence, to avert all suspicion from himself. Besides this, Nero having a great affection for Poppea Sabina, his Mistress at that time, took her away from her Husband, and sent her to Otho, who receiv'd her into his house under colour of Marriage

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And not content to have corrupted her, he became for fond on her, he had not patience to endure the Emperour to be his Rival. It is confidently affirm'd, that he not only refus'd fuch as were fent from Nero to demand her, but that he coming himself upon the fame errand one day, Otho shut him out of his Gate, though he begg'd of him to deliver her to him, and added threats to his importunity. Upon this repulse, Nero thought of nothing more than separating these two Lovers, and dissolving their pretended Marriage; and accordingly he dispatch'd Othe on an Embassie into Portugal, well considering that a greater and more fevere punishment of his insolence, might discover the whole intrigue: Yet so far it was known, that this Distich was made and dispersed;

Cur Otho mentito sit quæritis exul honore? Uxoris mæchus cæperat esse suæ.

Why's Otho to this false preferment brought?
Cause with his own dear Wife he would be naught.

He was only Quæstor, before he was advanced to this Province; yet he govern'd it with singular in-

tegrity and moderation.

4. But at last, occasion of revenge being prefented, he was the first who went over to Galba, and from that very moment revolving with himself the condition of affairs, he conceiv'd great hopes of attaining the Empire for himself; but his greatest encouragement was from the prediction of Selencus the Astrologer, who having promis'd him of old, that he should be Emperour, arrived unexpectedly at that time, and assured him it should be then very suddenly. After that, he omitted no kind of courtesse which might might gain him the affection of all people. Whenever he made an Entertainment for the Emperor, he distributed Money amongst his Guards, and oblig'd the other Souldiers all ways he could think of. One of them being in Suit with his Neighbour, about the bounds and limits of their Lands, and he being chosen as Umpire, he bought the whole Estate, and gave it freely to the Souldier; insomuch as there was scarce a man, which had not so much honour and esteem for him, as to declare publickly he was the only

person worthy to succeed in the Empire.

5. His first hopes were that he should be adopted by Galba, and that he expected every day; But after Pifo was preferr'd, and himfelf defeated that day, he turn'd his thoughts upon violence, contriving to establish himself by force, to which he was excited (besides the trouble of his mind) by the confideration of his debts, which he was no other way ever able to pay. Nor was he ashamed to declare, That if he was not Emperour he could not subsist, and that it was all one to him whether he fell by his Enemy in the Field, or by his Creditors in the Courts of Law. A few days before, he had fqueez'd out of one of Cafars servants 25000 Crowns, for a Stewardship he had procured for him; by the strength and assistance of which sum, he began his enterprize; The first he communicated withal, were five Archers of the Guard, and ten others which they recommended, (every one two) to each of which he paid down 10000 Sesterces, and promis'd them 30000 a piece more. These ingag'd others, but not many, as being affured of greater numbers, when the design came to be put in execution.

6. Immediately after Piso was adopted, his resolution was to have possessed himself of the Camp where

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the Guards' quarter'd, and fet upon Galba as he was at Supper in the Palace, but he was diverted from that, by the respect he had to the Cohort which was then upon the Guard, as apprehending he should make it too odious, feeing by misfortune the faid Cohort had been already upon the Guard both when Caligula was kill'd, and Nerodeferred; besides some certain religious scruples which he had, and Selencus his advice prevail'd with him to protract for fome time; but at last the day being fet, and his accomplices admonish'd to be in the Forum and to attend him under the Temple of Saturn, exactly by the Golden Miliarium, he went to falute Galba in the Morning, and according to Custom was received with a kifs, and admitted to be present at his facrifice, and to hear the predictions of his Southfayers; at length one of his freed men bringing him word(as was agreed) that the Architects were come, he departed as he pretended to fee a house which was to be fold, and flipt in great haft, through a poftern-gate in the Palace, to be present at the Rendezvouz; Others reported he counterfeited a fit of an Ague, and desired those who were by to make his excuse if he was ask'd for; then clapping himfelf close in a kind of a Sedan or womans Litter, he made directly for the Camp, but his Chair-men being tired, he was forc'd to forfake his Chair, and betake himself to his feet; his shooe being loose, gave him fome stop, but the Souldiers impatient of losing more time, ran to him, cast themselves about hisneck, faluted him Emperour, and brought him to the Principia, or chief quarter in the Camp, with their fwords drawn, and fuch General acclamations, as if every one which followed him, had been a partner in the Conspiracy. Having from thence difdispatch'd instruments for the killing of Galba and Piso, and made a Speech to the Souldiers, to Cajole them, and work himself into their savour, he told them, That he would neither accept nor pretend to any thing but what they in their prudence should leave him.

7. About the shutting in of the day, he went into the Senate, and having in a short narration reprefented to them how he was publickly arrested in the Forum, and constrain'd to take the Empire upon him, which he promis'd to manage to the common fatisfaction, he retired to the Palace. Besides the Titles which his flatterers gave him, and fuch as congratulated his advancement to the Empire, the common people called him Nero, which he was fo far from difgusting, that some say in all his first dispatches to the Governours of the Provinces, his Grants, and his Letters, he subscrib'd Nero as his Surname. This is most certain that he suffer'd the Statues and Images of Nero to be fet up again in their old places, and restored his servants and freed-men to the Offices they enjoy'd before; and that the first Warrant he signed, was for 50 millions of Sesterces, for finishing the Golden Palace which Nero had begun. It is faid that the same night being frighted in his dream, he fetch'd feveral profound fighs in his sleep, upon which his fervants running into his Chamber, found him by his Bedfide upon the Ground, after which there was no fort of expiation which he did not try to appeale the Ghost of Galba, who seemed to beat and push him forudely out of the bed. The next day as he was at his Auspices, a tempest arising became fo violent, it blew him down, upon which he was heard to mumble this Greek Proverb oftentime to himself.

Ti yag por zi panejis adhors;

What does this mean? I cannot see, How this wind Instrument relates to me.

8. About the same time the Armies in Germany took an Oath of fidelity to Vitellius, which coming to his ear, he propos'd to the Senate that they would depute some person or other to go to them, and let them know that they had chosen an Emperour already, to exhort them to be quiet and continue the concord betwixt them. Yet in the mean time, by Mefsengers and private Letters he offer'd Vitellius a moiety of the Empire, and to marry his daughter besides. But war being declar'd, and the troops which Vitellius fent before, drawing near, he affay'd the affection and allegiance of his Prætorians to the ruine and destruction almost of the whole Order of the Senators. Orders being given for carrying a certain quantity of arms on Shipboard to be transported to some other place, as they were removing out of the Camp in the night, some of the Souldiers apprehending there might be treason in the business, gave the alarm to the rest, and immediately they ran to their arms, and marching in a tumultuous manner to the Palace, without any officer to command them, they demanded liberty to put the whole Senate to the Sword. The Tribunes oppos'd themselves to this tumult, but were repulft, fome of them kill'd, and the Souldiers (all bloody as they were) ran up in a throng into the room where Otho was at Supper, crying out, Where is the Emperour, where is the Emperour, and would not be fatisfied till they had feen him themselves. In the mean time Otho prepared for his March with all poffible

fible diligence, but without any care or respect of religion, not fo much as to the Ceremony of the Ancilia or facred Shields, that were removed out of their proper place, but not restored again at that time; which in old time was lookt upon as ominous or unfortunate. Upon that very day also, the Priests and Ministers of (Cybele) the Mother of the Gods began to make their lamentations and complaints. To conclude, besides these circumstances, the Auspices were cross and averse; for those victims which were facrificed to Pluto were favourable, whereas in those kind of facrifices the more contrary they are, the more happy they are esteemed. And at the beginning of his March, he was delay'd by the inundation of Tiber, and twenty miles further the way was stopt up with the ruines of houses which by accident were fallen down.

9. With the same temerity, (though it was the judgment of all people it was his interest to temporize, and protract, in respect the enemy was prest with scarcity of Victuals, and ingaged in streight and very incommodious places,) he refolv'd nevertheless to give them battle upon the first occasion. either that he was precipitated by his impatience. and hoped to defeat them more easily before Vitellius should come up, or else because he was not able to restrain the ardour of his Soldiers, who prest him to fight. Yet was not he present himself at that conflict, but staid at Brixilliam. In three ingagements he had the better, but they were but small ones. The first was near the Alps, the next not far from Placentia, and the third at a place called Castoris, but in the last and most considerable battle at Bebriacum he was circumvented by treachery, and overcome. For Overtures having been made, and the Souldiers brought

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brought out as it were to Carefs one another, whilft the conditions of the accommodotion were under debate, in the very time of their falutations, the enemy fell upon him on a fudden and routed him. Upon this misfortune he took up a refolution of making himself away, and some do rationally believe, it was rather out of shame and an unwillingness to expose the lives of fo many men, in afferting of his foveraignty any farther, than out of any despair or disfidence of his forces, feeing there were fresh troopsremaining entire, which he had referv'd with himfelf for a fecond tryal of his fortune, besides others upon their March to him out of Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Masia. Neither were those which were beaten, so cowed or dejected, but that to expiate their difgrace, and revenge themselves of the Treachery of their Enemies, they would have attempted any thing alone of themfelves, without farther Supplies.

10. In this Battle my Father Suetonius Lenis was present, Commanding in the thirteenth Legion as Tribunus Augusticlavius, or Tribune of the second degree: He told us many times afterwards, that Otho from the time he was but a private person, detested all manner of Civil War so highly, that one day as he was at Dinner, a certain person happening to speak something of the end of Cassius and Brutus, he fell into a fit of trembling, with the horrour of it. Nor would he have undertaken to have disposses'd Galba, had he not been affured to effect it without coming to a War. He added likewise, that the said Otho was incited to a contempt of his life, by the example of a private Souldier, who having brought him the News that his Army was defeated, and no body believing him, but on the contrary charging him as a Liar fometimes, and fometimes as a Coward, and one that had run from his Colours, he fell upon his Sword at the Emperors feet; who admiring that instance of his courage and fidelity, cryed out, That for the future he would no more bring such Worthy and Gallant men into danger, upon his score. After this he called his Brother, Nephew, and Friends, and exhorting them particularly to shift for themselves, he kifs'd and embrac'd them, and then fent them away; when they were gone, he withdrew himself into a private room, writ two Confolatory Letters to his Sifter, and one to Meffalina, who had formerly been married to Nero, and whom he had designed for his own, recommending his memory and ashes to her. That done, he burnt whatever Letters or Papers he had, left falling into the hands of the Conquerour, they might be made use of to the prejudice of any body; and last of all, he distributed what Money he had in his Treasury at that time, amongst his Domesticks.

11. Prepared in this manner, and resolved to dye. a Tumult arising, he perceiv'd the Souldiers stopping and upbraiding those who were stealing away, as Traytors, and deferters of their Soveraign; whereupon he faid, Nay then let us add this night to our life, with which words, he forbad any more violence to be used, and ordering his Chamber to be left open until it was very late, he allow'd free entrance to all which had a mind to fee him. After this, having quench'd his thirst with a draught of cold water, he took two Daggers, and having tryed, and chosen the sharpest, he laid it under his pillow; and the doors being made fast, he fell into a most profound sleep; being awak'd about break of day, he gave himself a stab under the left pap, and when at the first groan his Servants ran in, he dyed, fometimes concealing, and

and fometimes discovering his wound. According as he had commanded, he was buried immediately, having left this life in the thirty eighth year of his age,

and the ninety fifth day of his reign.

12. To have feen the person and habit of Othe, would have made one fworn he had not been fo couragious: For 'tis reported, his stature was very finall, his feet ill, and going inwards with his toes: His neatness and finicalness, had more of the woman than man; the hair of his body was pull'd off constantly; in respect that his hair was very thin upon his head, he wore a Border or Cap so exquisitely well fitted, it was not to be known from his own: He shaved every day, and rubb'd his face over with steep'd bread, which custom he had used from the time he began first to have a Beard, on purpose that he might have none. It is faid also, that he many times celebrated Divine Service to Isis openly, in a Religious Vestment of fine Linen. For which reafons (in my opinion) it is, that his death appear'd the more wonderful, because so discrepant and unfuitable to his life. Most of the Souldiers who were prefent about him, after they had kissed his hands and his feet, and given him the character of a most magnanimous and fingular Emperour, they kill'd themselves about his Funeral Pile. Those also who were absent, understanding the deplorable news, were fo fenfibly affected therewith, that they flew one another. In fhort, many who whilft he was alive, detested and abhorr'd him, applauded and cry'd him up as much when he was dead; and it was a commonopinion and discourse among the people, That it was not so much ambition, and immoderate desire of Rule, that made him depose Galba, as a design to restore and re-establishthe Liberty of the Commonwealth. Cains



A.VITELLIUS.



# Cains Suctonius Tranquillus, OF THE TWELVE CÆSARS.

for of Vikelius

## NINTH BOOK,

Being the

### LIFE

OF

Aulus Vitellius,

THE NINTH
Emperour of ROME.

In the Extraction of Vitellins; fome will having him Noble and Antient, others Modern, Mean and Contemptible, which I should have thought had proceeded from the flattery or obloquie of those who lived under the Empire of Vitellins, if I had not found that before

f I had not found that before E e his his time they were in Controversie about the Condition of his Family. There is extant a little book of Q. Euloquius, to Q. Vitellius Quæstor in the days of Augustus of happy Memory, by which it appears that the Vitellii are descended from Faunus King of the Aborigines, and Vitellia who was adored as a Goddess in many places, and that they had the foveraign Command in all the Territories of the Latins. That the remainder of this race was transplanted from the Sabins to Rome, where they were received amongst the Patricii, and that the Vitellian Causey from the Janiculum to the Sea, is a token of their greatness, as well as a Colony of the same name; which they antiently defired to take into their protection, and to defend against the Equiculi with the forces of their own house only, and at their own That afterwards in the time of proper expence. the Samnites war, Supplies being fent into Apulia, some of the Vitellis remained and settled at Nuceria, and that a long while after some of their progeny returned to Rome, and were received into the Senators Order.

2. On the contrary, several have writ that the Founder of this Family was a Libertine. Cassius Severus and others affirm it was a Cobler, whose Son growing rich by purchasing confiscated goods, married the Daughter of one Antiochus a Baker, a common Harlot, and had a Son by her who became afterwards a Gentleman of Rome. But I leave this descrepancy undetermin'd: As to the business; Publius Vitellius of Nucerian extraction, (let the quality and Original of his Ancestors be what they will) was most certainly a Roman Knight, Procurator to Augustus, and left behind him four Sons, who (retaining their Fathers Surname) were distinguish'd

by their Pranomina onely; there were Aulus, Quintus, Publins, and Lucius: Aulus died in his Confulthip, which dignity he entred upon with Domitius the Father of Nero, a Man who lived very fplendidly, and was famous for the Magnificence of his feasts. Quintus was turn'd out of the Senate and degraded, upon an Order of the House, at the motion of Tiberius, that fuch persons of the Senate as were unfit for that honour, might be fecluded. Publiss accus'd Pifo his profest Enemy, and profecuted him fo strictly for murdering Germanicus (whose companion he was) that he caus'd him to be condemn'd. After he had exercis'd the Prætorship, being apprehended amongst the rest of the Conspirators with Sejanus, and committed to the custody of his Brother, he open'd his own veins with a Pen-knife; after which not so much to lengthen his life, as to gratifie the importunity of his friends, he fuffer'd them to bind up his wounds, and was cured, but died in the fame prison afterwards of another distemper. Lucius when his Confulship expired, was made Governour of Syria, during which Government he not only drill'd and inveigled Artabanus King of the Parthians into a Conference, but with great artifice prevail'd with him to render worship and veneration to the Enfigns of the Legions. Not long after this, with Claudius the Emperour he bare two ordinary Confulships, and the Office of Cenfor, and when Claudius was absent upon his expedition into Great Britain, Lucius was left Regent in his place. He was a man of great innocence, and industry, but he lay under a scandal for an immoderate love he had for a Libertine woman, with whom he was fo fondly inamour'd, he caus'd her spittle to be mingled with honey, and us'd it as a fomentation for the chafing of his throat and arteries, and that not feldom, or in private, but daily, and in publick. His nature was marvelloufly inclin'd to flattery, and he was the man which gave the first example of adoring Calignla as a God; for after his return from Syria, he never came into his Presence but with his head cover'd with a vail, turning himfelf about, and then falling down prostrate before him. He left no stone unturn'd to work himself into favour with Claudius, and observing him infinitely addicted to his wives and his freed-men, he beg'd of Meffalina as the greatest kindness she could do him, that she would give him leave but to pull off her shooes, and having taken one off from her right foot, he carried it away with him and wore it constantly betwixt his robe and his tunick, kiffing it greatly at fome times. The golden Images of Narciffin, and Pallas, he worshipt as his Houshold Gods: and when Claudius exhibited his fecular shows to the people, his congratulation was this, Sape facias, May you do the same many times. He died of a Palsie the next day after it took him, leaving two children which he had by Sextilia, a virtuous Lady and of an honorable family; he had the happiness to see them both Consuls in one year, the youngest succeeding his Brother for fix months together. Being dead, the Senate honour'd him with a publick Funeral, and a Statue before the Rostra with this inscription, Pietatis immobilis erga Principem; Of unmovable Loyalty towards bis Prince.

3. Aulus Vitellius the Emperour, was the Son of Lucius and born the 24th day of September, or as some will have it the 7th, when Drusus Casar, and Norbanus Flaccus were Consuls: The Astrologers calculated his Nativity, and made such predictions of his fortune, that his parents were in great appre-

hension

hension of him; and his Father us'dall the power he had to hinder him from taking any imployment of importance upon him during his life. When he was fent to the Legions, and proclaim'd Emperour, his Mother wept and lamented it, as his unhappiness, and misfortune. His infancy and youth, he past at Caprea, amongst lewd and infamous persons, subservient to the pleasures of Tiberius; insomuch as he gain'd an ill name amongst them, was call'd by the Surname of Spintria perpetually; and it was thought the comliness of the Son was the occasion of the advancement of his Father.

4. His vices increasing with his years, and being overwhelm'd with all kind of debauchery, it was no hard matter for him to attain the principal places at Court. With Caligula he infinuated by his dexterity in managing his Chariot, with Claudius for his inclination to Dice : But more especially with Nero, for the causes aforesaid, as also upon a peculiar piece of fervice when he was President at the solemnity call'd Neroneum; for understanding his desire of be ing ingaged for the prize amongst the rest of the Harpers, and that he was ashamed to declare it. though he was invited and importun'd to it by all when he went out of the Theatre he followed him. and pretending that the people perfifted in their request, and had fent him to solicit his return, he prevail'd with him to come back again and put in among the rest.

perours, he was advanc'd to the most considerable offices, both of the Church and State. He exercis'd the Proconsulship of Africa, and had the oversight of the publick works, which he executed with great inequality. In his Province he comported himself

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honourably two years together, during which time he continued there as Lieutenant to his Brother; But he took not the same methods in his City administrations; for it is reported he took away the Offerings and Ornaments belonging to the Temples, changing some of them, and instead of Gold and Silver, (which were there before) putting Tin

and Copper in their places.

6. He married Petronia, the daughter of one who had been Conful, by whom he had a Son named Petronianus, who was blind of one eye. His Mother having made him her Heir, upon condition he should be freed out of the power of his Father, Vitellius infranchis'd him, and (as is believ'd) not long after made him away, accusing him to have design'd the death of his Parents, and pretending that touch'd with remorfe of Conscience, he had taken the poilon himself which he had provided for his Father. A while after he married Galeria Fundana, whose Father had been Prætor, and by her he had Children of both fexes; amongst the rest, one Son who had fo great a stammering and impediment in his speech, he was no more to be understood than if he had been dumb.

The was fent by Galba into the Low-Countries, contrary to the opinion of all the world, by the favour (as was suppos'd) of T. Vinnius, who was very powerful at that time, and whose friendship he had gain'd long since, by siding with him in the same Faction. But Galba profess'd openly, he did not advance him out of any extraordinary esteem he had of him, but because he believ'd those people least to be fear'd, which were so much addicted to their belly, and that the greediness of his appetite, might be satiated by the plenty of that Province;

Province; fo that 'tis clear, his imployment in that Charge was an effect rather of the Contempt, than Favour of the Emperour. It is certain alfo, that when he was to fet out, he had not wherewithal to bear his charges on the way; and that he was fo bare of money and necessitous, that being to leave his Wife and Children at Rome, he mued them up in a Garret which he hired for them, let his own house for the remainder of the year, and pawn'd a Pearl out of his Mothers ear, to defray the expence of his journey. When he had furnish'd himself in this manner, he had no small trouble to free himself from his Creditors, which throng'd to him in great numbers, endeavouring to retard and detain him: Amongst the rest there were Sinuessians, and Formians, whose publick Taxes and Impositions being to pass through his hands, he had misapply'd, and converted part of them to his own use. To difingage himself from them, he frighted them with an Action of Slander, having not long before brought an Action of Battery against a Libertine, which folicited the payment of a sum of money he ow'd him, with too much eagerness, pretending that he had kick'd and abus'd him; nor could he be perfwaded to withdraw his Action, till he had extorted from him fifty thousand Sefterces. At his arrival in his Province, the Army not being over-well affected to the Emperour, and prone to new troubles, he was receiv'd with all expression of joy imaginable, declaring it could be nothing but the Gods which had fent them the Son of a person had been Conful three times, in the flower and vigour of his age, and of an affable and generous nature. Vitellius omitted not any thing that might increase the good opinion they had conceiv'd of him of old; For as he was in his journey, Ee 4

journey, he would kifs and falute any Common Souldier he met upon the way, go into the Inns, and Victualling-houses, and enquire of the Mulettiers and Travellers with great courtesse, whether they had had their Breakfasts, and belch upon them sometimes, to assure them that he had had his.

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8. Being got to the Camp, he denied no bodies request; of his own grace and motion he took off all notes of ignominy, difpenc'd with those which were guilty, and pardon'd all fuch as flood condemn'd at that time: Whereupon he had scarce pass'd one whole month amongst them, but without regard either to the day, or the time, they came one night into his Chamber on a fudden, and taking him away in the very posture they found him, they faluted him Emperour; and putting the Sword of Divus Julius into his hand, (which was taken out of the Temple of Mars, and given him by one of the Souldiers in their first acclamations) they led him with great triumph through the principal and most frequented Streets of the Town. When he return'd to the Pratorium, which was his own Quarters, he found the Chimney of the room where he dined on fire; and observing a general consternation in his friends, who looked upon it as a dangerous Omen, he recollected them with these words, Courage, be of good chear, this flame is for nothing but to light us: Nor did he make any other speech to the Souldiers. After this, the Army in the Upper Germany (which was then in Rebellion against Galba, in favour of the Senate) having declar'd for him, by common confent they tender'd him the Surname of Germanicus; which he accepted very readily, deferring the Title of August us,

Augustus, and refusing absolutely that of Casar for ever.

o. As foon as he had the news that Galba was dead, having put the affairs of the Province in order, he divided his Forces, fent one party before against Otho, and march'd himself with the rest as a Referve: To the Troops in the Van there arrived an accident of very good Omen; for on a fudden, from the right fide of the Squadron, an Eagle appear'd, which flying round about their Standards and Enfigns, hover'd foftly before them, as it were to shew them the way. On the contrary, as he moved, and the party with him, all the Statues on Horseback which were erected for him in many places, their legs failing them, on a fudden fell down and were broken to picces; and the Garland of Laurel which he wore most religiously about his head, fell off into a River. A while after, as he was in his Tribunal, administring Justice in Vienna, a Cock came and fate upon his shoulder, and afterwards upon his head: And the Events were fuitable to the Prefages; for his Lieutenants had the good fortune to fettle him in the Empire, but he was not fo happy as to hold it. disped . me

of his Victory at Bebriacum, and the death of Otho; whereupon without more ado, by one fingle Edict he disbanded his Prætorian Cohorts, as feditious, and of ill example, commanding them to deliver in their Arms to the Tribunes. Those hundred and twenty, whose Petitions to Otho he had found, defiring recompence for their assistance in killing of Galba, he caus'd to be searched out, and punished severely. These beginnings were honourable, and made them hope from him, whatever was to be de-

fired

fired in fo great a Prince; but he behaved himfelf afterwards according to his ill inclinations, and former way of living, rather than to the Majesty and Grandeur of an Emperour: For no fooner had he began his journey, but he rode through the Cities in a Triumphal manner. He stirr'd not upon the Rivers, but in his painted Pleafure-boats, trim'd and adorn'd with Garlands of Flowers, and victuall'd with the most exquisite delicates could be got, without any order or discipline either amongst his Souldiers or Servants, sporting himself and laughing at their rapines and infolencies, how insupportable soever: For not being contented with Free-quarter wherever they came, they enfranchis'd what Slaves they thought good, and where any refifted, they made no scruple to beat, wound, and kill them as they pleas'd. When he came into the Fields where the Battle was fought, there were fome of his Train who naufeated and detefted the fmell of the dead bodies; but he had the impudence to confirm them, with this most abominable speech, A dead Enemy smells well, but a dead Citizen better: Yet immediately to qualifie and correct the ugliness of the savour, he call'd for good store of Wine, drunk it publickly, and according to his accustomed vanity distributed the rest amongst his Souldiers. Beholding the Stone under which Otho was buried, with an infcription engraven upon it to his memory, he faid, He was worthy of that Monument; and hawing gotten the Poniard with which he kill'd himfelf, he fent it to Colonia Agrippina to be dedicated to Mars, and pass'd one whole night in his revellings upon the Apennine.

10. At length he entred the City, with his Trumpets before him, in his Imperial Mantle, his Sword

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by his fide, in the midft of his Military Enfigns, his Attendants in their Cassocks of War, and his Souldiers with their Arms presented: After which (in defiance of all Law both Divine and Humane) he grew worfe and worfe, and took upon himfelf the dignity of High Priest, upon the very same day on which the Romans were defeated by the Gauls near the River Allia, which was esteem'd unfortunate for ever after. He ordain'd, the Comitia or Assemblies for the Election of Magistrates, should be held from ten years to ten years, and himself be made perpetual Conful: And that it might appear to all the World, what example he propos'd to follow in the Government of the Commonwealth, he Sacrificed publickly to the Ghost of Nero, in the midst of the Field of Mars, in a General Assembly of the Priests: And at a solemn Feast, being much pleas'd with one which play'd upon the Harp, he commanded him to fing fomething in commendation of Domitius; whereupon the Harper beginning one of Nero's Songs, he was the first which clapt his hands, and gave most evident tokens of his applause.

in the most part of his affairs were managed by the Counsel or Capricio of Players, Charioteers, or such kind of inconsiderable fellows, amongst which Asiaticus his Freed-man, had a principal place. This Asiaticus was a person with whom he had had the infamous commerce of a mutual prostitution, when he was a youth; but growing weary of that trade, he ran away from him: afterwards by accident he found him selling a certain Drink called Posca at Puteoli, caus'd him to be seized upon, and clapt into Irons; but upon second thoughts, he releas'd

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him, and receiv'd him into the fame favour as before. Not long after, being again offended at his Contumacy, and ill humour, he fold him to an ambulatory Fencing mafter, and stole him away again when he was ready to have been produc'd upon the Stage, to have play'd his Prize amongst the rest of the Combatants; as soon as he accepted his Province, he infranchis'd him quite; and the first day of his Empire, he presented him at Supper with a Gold Ring; though that very morning, being earnestly requested by all people to conferr that honour upon him, he rejected their prayers, and seem'd to abominate so great a blot and disparagement to

the Equestrian Order.

13. He was addicted to all forts of vices, but efpecially to Luxury and Cruelty, he eat constantly three meals a day, and fometimes four, not content, ing himself with his breakfast, dinner and supper, unless he had his Collation afterwards, with all which the comported well enough having brought his body to a habit of Vomiting when he pleas'd: But these Feasts were not alwaies at his own charge; he frequently invited himself to his friends, to breakfast in one place, to dinner in another, to Supper in a third, all in the fame day, and they entertain'd him generally with fo much magnificence, feldom any of their Treats cost them less than 40000 Sefterces apiece. But the most memorable supper that was made for him, was by his Brother at his first coming to Rome, in which, by report, two thouland feveral dishes of fish, and seven thousand of fowl (the choicest of both forts that could be got) were ferved up to his Table; and yet his own profusion exceeded all this, at the dedication of that platter, which by reason of its vastness and capa-

apacity, he call'd the Buckler of Minerva. In this dish he had an Oglia brought up, made of the Sounds of the fish called Scarri, the brains of Phesants and Peacocks, the tongues of the bird call'd Phanicopterus. the small guts of Sea Lampreys fetcht on purpose by his Galleys from the Carpathian Sea, and the coasts. of Spain. Nor was he more infatiable, than unfeafonable in his Gluttony, not being able to contain during the time he was at facrifice, from plucking the entrails, corn, and meal (half roast and parch'd as they were) out of the fire, to devour them: and in the Inns upon the road as he travell'd, he fell aboard what ever he met with, not only meat fo hot as no other body could touch, but cold meat left the day before, and such fragments as were half eat-

en already.

14. He was fo unnaturally inclin'd to cruelty, he punish'd all forts of people with death, upon the least occasion whatever. There was no fraud or hypocrisie which he left unpractis'd, to destroy fuch persons of Quality as had been, formerly his Schoolfellows, and his Aflociates; careffing them fo far fometimes, as to give them even a share in the Government of the State. To one of them, amongst the rest, who being in a violent fit of a Feaver, defired to drink, he mingled poison with cold water, and gave it him with his own hand. Such Ufurers, Scriveners, and Publicans, as demanded either payment of what he ow'd them in Rome, or Toll and Duty upon the Road, he feldom or never excus'd: Of which number one coming to falute him, he commanded him to be put to death; but his mind turning of a fudden, he fent for him back again. This action of his being applauded by all people, as a fignal piece of Clemency, he caus'd him to be executed

executed before his face, declaring, That he means only to feed his own eyes with the speltacle. Having condemn'd another to death, he executed his two Sons for company, for no other reason, but that they had prefum'd to intercede for their Father. A Roman Knight being haled away likewife to his punishment, crying out to him as he went along, You are my Heir, you are my Heir; he caus'd him to thew his Testament, and finding himself only Coheir with a Freed-man of the Testators, to make his inheritance secure, he order'd them both to be hang'd. Some of the meaner fort he put to death likewife, and for no other cause, but that they had laugh'd at the blew faction of the Charioteers, upon a fancy that they did it in contempt of him, and that they durst not have been so audacious, but that they had hopes of some new revolution. But against no fort of people was his anger more visible, than against Astrologers and Fortune-tellers; no sooner was any of them accus'd, but without troubling himself to enquire into the truth, he commanded them to be tlain. That which had given him fo great a Picque against that Profession, was this; Having publish'd an Edict, requiring all Mathematicians to depart the City of Rome by the Calends of October; there was a Libel fet up in the fame form, Requiring (in the name of the Chaldeans) Vitellius Germanicus to depart the World by the same day. He was suspected also to have had a hand in the the death of his Mother, having commanded that no meat should be given her, under pretence that she was fick, and it would do her harm; induc'd thereto by the Predictions of an Old woman, whom he believ'd as an Oracle, and who had told him, That if he outliv'd his Mother, he (hould Reign a long time

weary of her present condition, and apprehending to be worse, she beg'd poison of her Son, and he was

to dutiful as to grant her defire.

15. The eighth month after he was Emperor, the Armies in Mesia and Pannonia revolted from him, and of the Transmarine forces, those in Judea and Syria did the same ; part of them declaring for Vespasim, who was amongst them, and part of them taking an Oath to him in his absence. To retain therefore the affections of the rest of his Troops he cared not what largesses he gave either in publick or private; and in his Levies in Rome, he promis'd all vofuntiers not only immediate difinission after the victory was obtain'd, but the same rewards as if they had been Veterans, and ran through the whole course of the wars. At length the Enemy advancing upon him both by Land and by Sea, He fent his Brother with a Fleet of new rais'd men and Fencers, on the one fide, and on the other fide, fuch Officers and Souldiers as had gain'd the Battle at Bebriacum. Being beaten, or betray'd in all places, he capitulated with Flavius Sabinus the Brother of Vespasian to deliver up all, upon condition his life might be spared, and 100 millions of Sefterces allowed him for his subsistence; a while after he prefented himself before the Stairs of the Palace, and in the midst of the Souldiers declar'd, That he did resign the Empire, and that when be accepted it first, it was against his Will. The Souldiers unanimoully opposing, he deferr'd it for the prefent, but the next morning by break of day he appear'd at the Rostra in mourning, and with many tears made the same declaration is writing. The Soldiers and People interrupted him the fecond time, exhorting him not to despond, and promising him

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their utmost assistance; he recollected his Spirits. and unexpectedly falling upon Sabinus and the reft of the Flavians when they thought themselves secure; he forc'd them into the Capitol, and fetting fire to the Temple of Jupiter consum'd them all in it; during which combat and conflagration he was feasting in the Palace of Tiberius, and with great pleafure beheld all the passages in that lamentable Spectacle. A while after repenting of what he had done and laying the fault upon other people, he called a publick affembly, before whom he took a folemn Oath, and compelled the rest to take the same, That nothing was more dear to him than the peace & tranquillity of the Common-wealth. After which pulling off his fword, he presented it first to the Conful, he refnsing it, to the Magistrates, and Senators one by one, but no body receiving it, he departed with refolution to deposit it in the Temple of Concord; and when fome of them cryed out, That he himself was Concord, he return'd and not only protested that he retain'd the Sword, but that he accepted also the Surname of

16. The condition of his affairs being thus, he intreated the Senate to depute certain of the Vestal Virgins and other persons to repair to the Enemy, and to desire peace, or at least a precise time for a Conference. The next morning as he was attending their answer, the Scouts brought in word the Enemy was at hand; being surprized with the news, he shut himself up close in a kind of a Litter, and accompanied only with two persons, his Baker and Cook, he took his way to his Fathers house upon the Aventin Mount, designing from thence to make his escape into Campania. A while after upon an idle and uncertain report, that peace was concluded, he suffer'd

fuffer'd himself to be reconvey'd to his Palace, where finding all things solitary and abandon'd, and those persons which came with him, to desert him privately, he put a girdle with certain pieces of Gold stitcht into it, about him, and sled into the Porters lodge, tyed a Dog at the door without, and barricado'd it

on the infide with the bed and bedding.

17. By this time a party of Vespasians had entred the Palace, and no body appearing, they fearcht all places (as is usual) till at lath having discover'd him, they pull'd him out of his Kennel, and not knowing him, inquired only who he was, and if he could tell them where they might find Vitellius; at first he deeeiv'd them by a lye, but afterwards being known, he pretended he had matters of great importance to discover to Vespasian, and beg'd very hard that they would keep him, though it were in Prison, till he could speak with him. But all was in vain, for tying his hands behind him, putting a halter about his neck, and tearing his very clothes from off his back, they dragged him half naked into the Market place, through the whole street called the Via Sacra, upbraiding him with a thousand injurious words, and using him with inexpressible indignity, tying his head backward with his hair (as is usual to the most execrable Malefactors) and holding the point of a fword under his chin, lest by bending down his head he might prevent the shewing of his Face: some pelted him with dung, and dirt, others revil'd him by his great dish, others call'd him Incendiary, others reproacht him by the imperfections of his body, (for he was of an enormous tallness, his face red for the most part with drinking of Wine, his belly very fat, and not well supported by one of his thighs, which was bruifed long before, by the bruih of a Chariot, whilft

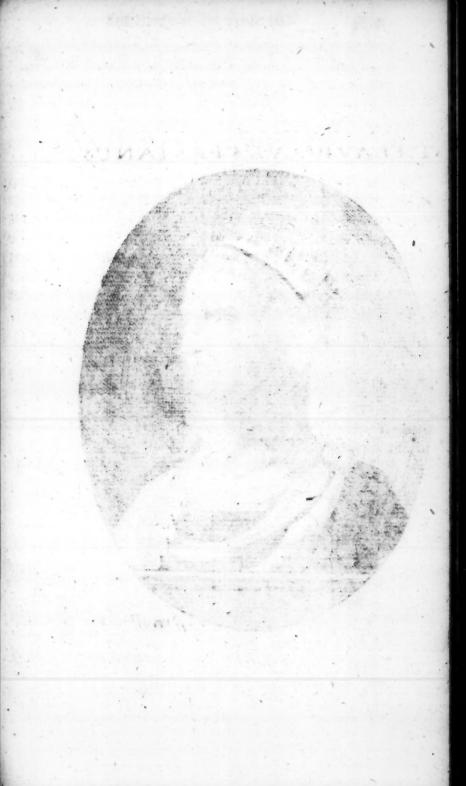
whilst he was waiting upon Caligula in one of his Careers) at last having brought him to the Gemonian stairs, they kill'd him with little strokes, and from thence dragged him with a hook and threw him into

Tyber.

18. In this manner he died, with his Son and his Brother, in the 57th year of his age. His end corresponding exactly with the predictions of those who interpreted the Omen which befell him (as we have mentioned) at Vienna, which was no other than that he should fall into the hands of a Frenchman, for he was killed by Antonius Primus, who commanded the adverse party; was born in Tolose, and in his minority was call'd Becco, which in the French language is as much as the beak of a Cock.

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The Life of Velpalian.

### TWELVE CASARS. took imployment under the Farmers of the Reason

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# Flavius Vespasianus Augustus, THE TENTH Emperour of ROME.

### Military Tribunce, and Maryfebal du Course, and

HE Empire which for a long time had been tottering, and unfetled, by the rebellion and flaughter of three Emperours fuccessively, was at length fix'd and establish'd by the Family of the Flavin.

True it is, its original was not very illustrious, as not being able to glory in the Crandown of its. not being able to glory in the Grandeur of its An
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cestors: Nevertheless the Commonwealth had no cause to be asham'd of it, though Domitianus was made an Example for his cruelty and avarice. Titus Flavius Petro was a Citizen of Reate, and a Centurion in the Civil Wars with Pompey; whether he ferv'd voluntarily, or by compulfion, is not known; but this is certain, he fled home to his own house after the Battle of Pharsalia, and having made his peace, and discharg'd himself from the Army, he took imployment under the Farmers of the Revenue, and Collected their Taxes. His Son, furnamed Sabinus, either unskillful in matters of War, or (as fome will have it) releas'd of his Military Oath, upon occasion of his sickness, when he was a Centurion, was a Partifan in Asia, where he gather'd the Customs and Impositions called Quadragesima, with fo much integrity, that there were Images erected by the Cities in his memory, with this infcription, reas reastheaver, To the honest Publican. After this he went into Helvetia, where he put out Money to Interest, and died, leaving his Wife Veftasia Polla, and two Children behind him, the elder of which was called Sabinus, and arrived at the Government of the City; the younger called Vespasian, attain'd to be Emperour. Polla was born of honourable Parents in Nursia, her Father being Vespasius Pollio, a person that had three times been Military Tribune, and Mareschal du Campe, and his Brother a Senator first, and afterwards honoured with the dignity of the Prætorship. Six miles from Nursia, in the road to Spoletum, upon the top of a high Mountain, there is a place which hears the name of Veftafie to this day, in which there are for many, and confiderable Monuments of the Vespasis to be feen, as do clearly ivince the fplendor and antiantiquity of that Family. I will not deny but it is reported by some Authors, that the Father of Petro was born beyond the Po; that he drove a great Trade amongst the Labourers, who used to come yearly out of Ombria, into the Territory of the Sabines, for the Tillage of their Ground; that his habitation was in the Town of Rente, at which place he married his Wife: But for my own part, I have fearch'd with sufficient curiosity, and could never find the least track of Authority to perswade me to believe it.

2. Vespasian was born in the Dominion of the Sabines, beyond Reate, at a little Town called Phalacrine, the seventeenth of November towards the Evening, in the Confulship of Q. Sulpicius Came rinus, and C. Poppeus Sabinus, five years before the death of Augustus. He was educated by his Grandmother by the Fathers side, in a house she had about Cofa; which place when he was Emperour afterwards, he did constantly frequent, the house being preferv'd as it was in his youth, that his eyes might not be deprived of any thing they had been accuflomed formerly to fee. The memory of his Grandmother was fo dear to him, that in all Festival and Solemn days, he drank out of a Silver Cup which had been hers, and no other. Having put on his Virile Gown, he had an aversion a long time for the Senators Robe, though his Brother had taken it upon him; nor could he be prevail'd with at last, but by the compulsion of his Mother, who wrought upon him not fo much by her perswasions, or authority, as by her gibes and reproaches, calling him oftentimes by was of derision, his Brothers Usher. He ferv'd as a Military Tribune in Thrace: Being Qualtor, the Provinces of Crete and Cyrene fell to Ff4 him

him by Lot; and when he flood Candidate to be Ædilis, and Pretor, he obtain'd the Ædileship with much difficulty, and in the fixth place; but the Prætorship was granted him at the first. Being in possession of that place, and animated exceedingly against the Senate, he endeavoured by all waves to infinuate himself into the favour of Caligula; for which reason, he desir'd that he might be permitted to exhibite extraordinary Plays in his honour, upon the Victory he had gain'd in Germany; and being confulted in the Senate against the Conspirators, he advis'd that their bodies should be left unburied, as an addition to their former punishments: besides which, in the presence of the whole Senate, he gave Caligula thanks, for having done him the honour to admit him tochis Table.

-biz. While these things were in agitation, he married Flavia Domitilla, who had been Servant to Statilius Capella, a Gentleman of Rome, born in Sabraca in Africk: but afterwards she was made free, and Citizen of Rome, with all the formalities, upon the fecurity of her Father Flavius Liberalis, born at Ferentinum, and never advanc'd higher than to a Treasurers Clerk. By her he had two Sons, and a Daughter, Titus, Domitianus, and Domitilla: He out-lived both his Wife, and his Daughter, and was but as it were a private person when they dyed. After his Wifes decease, he receiv'd into his company again Cenis a Freed-woman, and Amanuensis to Antonia, whom he had paffionately loved before, and afterwards when he was Emperour, kept her in his house as his lawful Wife.

14. In the Empire of Claudius, being made Lieutenant of a Legion by the favour of Narcissus, he was dispatch'd into Germany, from whence being Posted

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into Britain, he fought three considerable Battles, took twenty strong Towns, and upwards, and reduc'd the Isle of Wight, which is an Island 'adjacent: Part of which Exploits he performed under the Conduct of A. Plautius, Lieutenant to the Conful, and partly under Claudius himself; and as a recompence for his diligence, he was honoured with the Triumphal Ornaments, and in a short time with two Sacerdotal Dignities, besides a Confulship, which he executed only the two last months of the year. In the interim, till he was made Pro-conful, (having fome apprehensions of Agrippina, who at that time was very potent with her Son, and abnor'd all perfons which had had any intimacy, with Narciffus) he lived privately without any Charge. Afterwards the Government of Africk falling to his share, he manag'd it with integrity and honour, only once in a Sedition at Adrumetum, he had Turneps thrown at him by the people. At his return he was no richer than when he went; for his Credit being at stake, and his Creditors pressing for their Money, he was forc'd to Mortgage all his Estate to his Brother, and to make advantages by felling and fwopping of Horses, for the support of his dignity; whereupon they call'd him commonly the Horse-Courser. It is reported likewise, that he was convict of having extorted 200000 Sefterces from a young Gentleman, for making him a Senator against his Fathers will, for which action he was feverely re-In the Voyage Nero made into Achaia, he was one of his Train; but incurr'd his displeasure exceedingly, in not attending with that admiration and reverence (as in good manners he ought to have done) when he was finging, it being his usual custom either to steal privately out of the room, or fall

fall asleep in the midst of his Musick: Upon which account he was not only forbid the Court, but to falute the Emperour publickly; whereupon he retir'd into a little Town out of the way, where he kept himself close against the vengeance of Nero; till he was offer'd the Command both of a Province and Army. There was an opinion spread all over the East, and it had obtain'd very much, That by inevitable Decree those who came out of Judea about that time, were to have the Empire of the World. The Jews mistaking the Prophesie, and applying it to themselves, (which the Event shew'd afterwards was intended of the Emperour of Rome) fell into a Rebellion, flew their Governour; and the Confulary Leiutenant of Syria, bringing him relief, they fell upon him, routed him, and took from him his Imperial Standard. To reduce these Rebels to their Obedience, it was fit they should provide themfelves with a more puillant Army, and a General of fuch Conduct and Experience, as they might fafely commit an affair of that consequence into his hands. In this deliberation, Vespasian was pitch'd upon as a person who had given ample expressions of himself, and was not to be fuspected, for the humility of his Extraction: Having therefore reinforc'd the Army with two Legions, eight wings of Horse, and ten Cohorts of Foot, he march'd for Judea, accompanied by his eldest Son, who was one of his Lieutenants. At his first arrival, he made himself admirable to all the Provinces adjacent, for his Regiment, Difcipline, and the invincibleness of his Courage; for in his two first Engagements, he behaved himself most honourably, and at the storming of a Castle, he receiv'd an unlucky blow upon his knee with a Stone, besides several Arrows upon his Target.

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5. After the death of Nero and Galba, whilft Otho and Vitellus were in dispute for the Soveraignty. he was confirm'd in the hopes (which a long time he had conceiv'd) of attaining it himself, by these prodigies following. In a Country house belonging to the Flavii, not far from the City, there was an old Oak confecrated to Mars; this Tree at three feveral times. when Vefpafia Lay-in, put forth each time a bough out of its Trunk on a sudden, giving thereby a manifest prognostick of the destiny of every one of them as they came into the World; The first was but slender, and quickly dried up: and fo her Daughter which was her first born, lived not a compleat year. The fecond tough and long, and prefag'd great felicity. But the third was great, like a Tree; whereupon it is said, that his Father Sabinus having been confirm'd before, by one of the Southfayers, told his Mother, That she had a Grandchild now born which would be Emperour; and that she only laught when the heard it, and declar'd, That the could not but wonder (her senses being still good) her son should doat and talk idly already. Caligula having advanc'd him to the Edileship, and being angry one day for his remisness in sceing the streets kept clean, he commanded the Soldiers to take up some of the durt and befinear him, which they did, and threw it into the lap of his Embroidred Robe, which by fome people was interpreted as a token, That the time should come when the Common-wealth being for saken and trodden under foot by some Civil dissention, should have recourse to him for protection, and seek its sanctuary in his bosom. As he was at dinner another time, a strange Dog came into the room, with a mans hand in his mouth; and laid it under the Table. Again being at Supper, an Oxe which had been at Plough, shak'd

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off his Yoke, broke into the room, and having frighted and dispers'd his servants, (as if he had been tyred of a fudden) laid himfelf down gently by him, and put his head to his feet, as a tellimony of submission. In an estate which belong'd to his Ancestors a Cypress Tree was pull'd up by the roots, and thrown down without any tempest or violence, and the next day found growing again, with more verdure and firmness than before. When he was in Achaia, he dream'd that the felicity and good fortune of himself and family should commence as soon as Nero should lose a Tooth; and it came to pass, that going to Court the next day, one of the Emperours Physicians shew'd him a Tooth which he had newly drawn. In Judea, Confulting the Oracle of the God Carmel, his answer was fo favourable, that it promis'd him infallible fuccess in whatever he projected were it never fo great. There was one of the most honourable of his Captives called Josephus also, who being by his order clapt into Prison, affirm'd boldly that in a short time he should be set at liberty by the same person, but he should be Emperour first. From Rome also he receiv'd tidings of several presages: One among the rest was, That Nero about the end of his days, was advertis'd in a dream to remove the facred Chariot of fupiter from the Chappel where it stood, to Vestasian's house, and from thence into the Circus. And not long after, at the folemn affembly for Galba's second Election into the Confulship, the Statue of Julius Cefar turn'd about of it felf towards the East. And just before the Battle at Bebriacum, two Eagles being feen fighting in the air till one of them was beaten, upon a fudden there appear'd a third from the East, which drove away the Conquerour.

6. Nevertheless, though his friends were ready, and

and follicited him very earnestly to declare, he could never be brought to attempt any thing, till he found himself favour'd and invited by some persons who were both absent and unknown. Two thousand men drawn out of three Legions, and fent to the relief of Otho, having intelligence that he was defeated, and had kill'd himfelf, they gave no credit to the report, but advanc'd as far as Aquileia; being there, they took their opportunity, and gave themselves over to all fort of licentiousness and rapine; afterwards apprehending they might be called to an account at their return, and possibly receive the reward of their violences, they took up a refolution to Elect and Create an Emperor of their own, alledging that they were not inferiour either to the Spanish, Fratorian, or German Armies, who had advanc'd Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, to the Empire. Having named all the Confular Lieutenants, who were in command at that time, and had great contestation; Certain Soldiers of the third Legion who about the end of Nero's reign had been removed out of Syria, into Mafia, took occasion to recommend Vespasian; The Character being well received on all hands, by common confent he was concluded worthy of the Empire, and forthwith they infcrib'd his Name upon all their Enfigns. At first it was thought fit to conceale it, that they might recollect themselves by degrees, and renew their discipline. But when it was divulg'd, Tiberius Alexander the Governour of Etype, was the first which forc'd the Legions to take an oath of fidelity to Vespasian; which happening to fall out upon the first day of July, the first day of July was held for the first day of his Empire for ever after. On the eleventh of July, the Army with him in ·Judea, took the said oath in his presence also. These tent. En-

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Enterprizes were very much promoted by the Copy of a Letter (true or false) which Otho was reported to have writ to Vespasian, exhorting and conjuring him to revenge his death, and to rescue the Common-wealth from Captivity: Besides, it was spread abroad, that Vitellius was resolved, if he were Conquerour, to change the Winter Quarters of his Legions, and to remove those in Germany into the Eastern parts, where the War was most easie and secure. Moreover Licinius Musianus depositing the animosity which he had had for him till that day, (upon an emulation of his greatness) promis'd him his Army in Syria, and Vologesus King of the Parthi-

ans 40000 Archers.

7. The Civil War being commenc'd in this manner, and his Captains fent before with his Troops into Italy, he past over himself to Alexandria, to feize upon the avenues into Egypt; whilst he was there, he entred privately into the Temple of Serapis alone, to receive the Auspices touching the firmness and stability of his Empire; and having endeavoured by all formalities to render that God propitious, he turn'd himself about according to the rites of adoration; and to his thinking beheld Vervain Crowns, and loaves of Bread (as is usual in that place) presented to him by Basilides, a Freed-man, though it was known no person admitted him into the Temple; that he had been long foill of a weakness in his Nerves, he was scarceable to go; and besides that, he was at that time a great distance off that place. Immediately hereupon Letters were brought to him, importing the defeat of the Vitellian Army, near Cremona; and that Vitellius himfelf was murdered at Rome. Having been advanc'd in this unexpected manner, and made Emperour on a fudden,

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den, he wanted fomething of that Majesty and authority, which is necessary in fo great a Prince; but his good fortune presented him with an opportunity to supply himself even with that. A blind and lame man, of mean condition, and the common rank of the people, presenting themselves to him, as he was sitting upon his Tribunal, befeeched him most humbly that he would vouchfafe to cure them, for they had been admonish'd by their God Serapis in a dream, that if he pleas'd but to fpit upon the eyes of the one, and but touch the other with his heel, both of them should recover and be well. Vespasian had not faith enough to believe them, nor to hope for any fuch fuccess, so as he could scarce be perfwaded to make the experiment; but at last being over-rul'd by the importunity of his friends, he tryed both ways, and was answer'd by the effect. At the same time at Tegea in Arcadia, by the intimation and impulse of the Prophets, they digg'd in a facred place, and found feveral Vessels very antique, among which there was an Image exactly refembling Vefpafian.

8. Being returned to Rome, full of glory and reputation, he Triumph'd over the Jews, and added eight Confulships more, to what he had exercis'd before: He took upon him the Office of Censor likewise, and during the whole course of his Empire, his principal care was, first to re-establish, and next, to readorn the Common-wealth. The Soldiers (part in confidence of their Victory, and part in sense of their ignominy) ran out into all kind of licentiousness. The Provinces, the free Towns, and even some Kingdoms, began to mutiny; to regulate those disorders, he cashier'd several of the Vitellians, and corrected others, and as for those who were instru-

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ments and partners in his Victory, he was fo far from giving them any recompence extraordinary, he was fomething tedious in paying them their due. He omitted no occasion of reforming the discipline of the Armies. A young man to whom he had given a considerable Command, waiting upon him one day to give him thanks, finelling very fragrantly of rich Oyls, and Perfumes, he look'd feverely upon him, and (with a voice that fignified his indignation) told him, he had rather he had smelt of Garlick, and fo took away his Commission. The Sea-men which were wont to run on foot by turns from Oftia and Puteoli to Rome, Petitioning that they might have fome certain allowance appointed them for shooes; (as if it had not been enough to fend them packing without any answer) he ordain'd that for the future they should discharge their duties without any shooes at all; and since that time they ran barefoot accordingly. Having taken away their rights and liberties in Achaia, Lycia, Rhodes, Bizantium, and Samos, as likewise in Thracia, Celesia, and Comagene, (which till that time had been all of them under the domination of Kings) he reduc'd them into the form of Provinces. He dispatch'd new Legions into Cappadocia, to secure it against the irruptions of the Barbarians; and instead of a Roman Knight, he gave the Government to one which had been Conful. Rome having lost much of its splendor and beauty by the late Ruines, and Conflagration, if the Proprietors neglected to build in any Competent time, he permitted any other person that would do it, to enter and take possession of their Ground. He referv'd the repairing of the Capitol to himself, and for encouragement to other people, was the first which put his hand to the work, and carried out the 2111901

the first rubbish upon his own shoulders; he undertook to restore three thousand Tables of brass which had been burnt, having with great industry fought out their true Copies, they being as it were the Regifters of the Empire, in which were recorded all Decrees of the Senate, all Ordinances of the people, all Treaties, Alliances, and Priviledges granted to any Person or Corporation whatsoever; in short, all remarkable occurrences from the very foundati-

on of the City.

o. Besides these, he built several other very honourable Buildings, as the Temple of Peace, not far from the Market-place; the Temple of Claudius, upon the Mount Calius, which had been begun by Agrippina, but was almost entirely demolish'd by Nero; and an Amphitheatre in the middle of the Town, as Augustus had design'd. The most honourable Orders (of Senators and Gentlemen) which had been exhausted by infinite Massacres, and defil'd by the negligence of the preceeding Emperours, he purg'd and refin'd by a general review of them both; in which he turn'd out fuch as he found unworthy, and fupply'd their places with the most honourable persons he could meet with, either in Italy, or the Provinces. And (that it might be known, that the difference betwixt those two Orders, did not confist in any advantage of Liberty, fo much as in Dignity) a Senator and Gentleman having fallen out, and given one another ill language, upon their complaints and applications to him, he gave Judgement in these words; It is not lawful to give a Senator ill words first; but if a Senator begin, it is not only lawfull, but civil (for a Gentleman) to reply.

10. The number of Processes and Suits in Law was grown fo great, that old Actions were left undetermin'd, by a long vacation and intermission of Justice, and by the accession of new quarrels, arising from the tumults and disorders of those times: To remedy this Grievance, he elected certain persons by Lots, and qualified them as Judges, to restore such to the possession of their Estates, as had been disposses'd during the Wars; to determine extraordinarily in Causes before the Centumviri, which were become so numerous and tedious, a Client could scarce hope to live to see an end of his Suit; and to reduce and digest them into as short a number as might be.

corrupted by all manner of Luxury, to put a check to their debaucheries, he prevail'd with the Senate to make a Decree, That what woman foever joyn'd her felf to another mans Servant, should lose her own liberty, and become a Vassal her felf; That no Usurer should recover any money of young Heirs, that was lent to be repaid with advantage upon the decease of their Fathers. In other matters he used great clemency, from the beginning to the latter end

of his Empire.

of his former condition, he discours'd of it many times himself; and when some went about to derive his Pedigree from the very Founders of Reate, and the Companion of Hercules, whose Monument is still to be seen in the Via Salaria, he laugh'd at them, and derided them for their pains. He was so far from delighting extravagantly in any exteriour Ornaments, or Honour, that on the day of his Triumph, being tired out with the tediousness of the formalities, he could not forbear uttering his disquiet in these words; That he suffered but justly, for having at his age

fo fottishly desir'd to Triumph, as if it had been due to his Ancestors, or ever hoped for by himself. Neither did he accept the Tribunitial Authority, or the Title of Pater Patria, but with great difficulty; and for the custom of searching such as came to salute him, he left that off before the Civil Wars were ended.

13. He concern'd himself but little either at the liberties of his Friends, the gibes and reflections of the Lawyers, or the downright rudenesses of Philosophers. Licinius Mucianus, a man of known unnarural chastity, presuming upon his merits, and carrying himself irreverently towards him, Vespasian never rebuk'd him but in private; and complaining of him upon a time, to a common friend to them both, he came in with this close, Tet I am a man. Salvius Liberalis in defence of a Rich man which was his Client, had the impudence to fay, If Hipparchus be worth a hundred millions of Sesterces, what is that to Cæfar? Yet he was fo far from being difgusted with it, that he gave him thanks for what he had faid. After the Philosophers had been banish'd the City, Demetrius the Cynick meeting him upon the road, would not vouchfafe to rife up or give him a falute, but instead of that, began to revile him; but the Emperor contented himself to call him Dog only, alluding to the name of his Sect.

14. His refentment either of sudden offences, or old animosities, was so small, that he married the Daughter of Vitellius (his inveterate Enemy) very honourably, and gave her a Dower, and accourrements suitable to her quality besides. Being forbid the Court in the time of Nero, in great terrour, and not knowing what to do, he demanded whither he was to go; one of the Ushers thrusting him rudely out of the Chamber, told him, he might go hang

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himsels: After he was created Emperour, this Fellow coming to beg his pardon, Vespasian was provok'd no farther, than to bid him be gone almost in the same terms he had offended him. He was so far from being carried away by suspicion, or fear, to the destruction of any person, that when he was admonish'd by his Friends, to have an eye upon Metius Pomposianus, who was born by report under a Constellation that promis'd him the Empire; he made him Consul, against the advice of them all, assuring them, That when time should serve he could not but

remember that good office.

14. There was scarce ever any innocent man punish'd in his time; if there were, it was when he was either absent, or deceiv'd. Helvidins Priscus, the only person who faluted him by the name of Vespasian, at hisreturn from Syria, and one that made not the least mention of him, in any of the Edicts which were publish'd during his Prætorship, could not provoke him by these affronts, till at length in his most infolent altercations, he endeavour'd to make him no better than an ordinary man: Yet him also (though he was banish'd before, and Orders given out afterwards for his Execution) he endeavour'd to have faved, fent to countermand the Executioners, and had preferved him without doubt, had he not been deceiv'd by false intelligence, that he was dead before his Messengers came. Furthermore, he was fo far from pleasing himself in the destruction of any man, that he could not fo much as look upon the fufferings of a Criminal, without fignifying his compassion by his sighs and his tears.

16. The only thing defervedly imputable to him, was his immoderate love of Money. He was not content to revive the old Impositions, which had

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been remitted under Galba; to add new, and more grievous Tributes to feveral of the Provinces; but he drove a Trade publickly, which would have been dishonourable to a private person, bartering and buying Commodities, that he might fell them to advantage. Neither did he scruple the felling of any Office, nor the pardoning any condemn'd perfon for money whether he was guilty or not. It is fuspected also, that it was his custom to advance the most griping and rapacious of his Officers, to the most profitable Charges, on purpose that he might fqueeze them when they were grown rich: And of these persons it was faid he made use as of Sponges, wet them when they were dry, and Squeez'd them when they were wet. Some fay he was covetous by nature, and that he was upbraided with it by an old Neat herd, who petitioning earnestly at his investiture in to the Empire, to have his Liberty gratis, and being denied, cry'd out publickly, The Woolf might change his hair, but never his qualities. Others there be which believe, he was compell'd to those Rapines and Extorsions, by the impoverishment of his Exchequer; which he testified at his arrival at the Government, by a publick Declaration, That the Com-monwealth could not possibly subsist, without a supply of a bundred & forty millions of Sesterces. And this indeed is the most probable opinion, because however he came by his money, he imploy'd it always to good use.

17. He extended his Liberality to all forts of people; he compleated the Estates of the Senators; he allow'd Pensions of 500 Sesterces to every person which had been Consul, and was grown indigent; several Towns that had been ruin'd by Fre, or Earthquakes, in divers parts of the World, he re-

ftor'd to their former lustre and condition.

18. But his more particular bounty, he expressed towards the Professors of all Arts and Sciences; he was the first which settled a Salary of a hundred thousand Sesterces, upon the Teachers of Rhetorick both Greek and Latine, to be paid yearly out of the Exchequer; he invited the most excellent Masters in Poetry, and other Artificers, to Rome, by considerable Allowances; also made the Repairer of the Coloss a large Present, and a fair Allowance. An Engineer which undertook to convey certain Columns of vast weight, into the Capitol, at a small charge, he rewarded well for his invention, but excus'd him for performing it, telling him, That he should let the

poor live.

19. The Scaffolds of the Theatre of Marcellus being repair'd, upon the day of its dedication, certain Plays being represented, Vespasian according to antient cultom restor'd the Songs with Musick, and fudicrous recitations. To Apollinaris the Tragedian he gave four hundred Sefterces; to Terpnus, and Dioderus, two Players upon the Harp, he gave two hundred; to others one hundred; and to them which had least, he gave forty Seftences; besides a good number of Growns of Gold, which he caus'd to be distributed amongst them. His Feasts and Entertainments were frequent, for the most part noble and magnificent, that the Butchers and fuch as fold Victuals might thrive. As he gave Presents to the Men at the Saturnalian Feasts, so he presented the Women on the Calends of March; and yet with all this, he could not avoid the infamy of his former avarice. The Alexandrines perfifted in calling him Cybiofactes, after the name of one of their Kings, who was eminent amongst them for his insufferable parsimony. And at his very Funeral, Favour the chief Mimick

Mimick reppresenting his person, and imitating his words and actions when he was alive, according to custom, demanding aloud of such as had the inspection and charge of the Ceremony, What the expence of his Obsequies would be? being told they would amount to 1000000 Sesterces, he cry'd out, Give me the money and throw my body where you please,

though it be into Tiber.

and robust, his countenance something constrain'd, which gave occasion to one of the Wits of that age, to break an unhappy jest upon him; for Vespasian desiring him to spare him no more than the rest of the Company, but to speak some waggish thing or other upon him too, That I will, quoth he, when you have done going to the Stool. He enjoy'd his health very well, though he used no other means than rubbing his jaws, and other parts of his body, a certain number of times in the Spheristerium or Tennis-Court, and one day in a moneth abstained from all manner of food.

21. This for the most part was the Order of his life; when he was Emperour, he sate up very late, and wak'd very early in the morning; then having perus'd his Letters and Dispatches, and over-look'd the Breviaries of all his Officers, he admitted his Friends, and whilst they were faluting and entertaining him, he dress'd himself, to the very putting on of his own shooes; after which having dispatch'd all his affairs, he allotted some time for Exercise, and then to his repose, in which he had most commonly one of his Concubines lay by him, which he had chosen in great numbers to succeed Cenis, who was deceased: From thence he pass'd privately into his Baths, and from them to the room where he eat.

He was never better humour'd, than at fuch times as these; whereupon his Servants watch'd alwayes for some such opportunity, when they had any thing

extraordinary to beg.

22. At Supper and at all times elfe, he was pleafant and facetious with his friends, and indeed fo much given to drolling, that he would be fcurrilous and fordid, and fometimes guilty of fuch words, a young Gentleman of fifteen years old would have been asham'd of: Yet there are some sayings of his, which are innocent and witty enough; Menstrius Florus, a man of Confular degree, having advis'd him to fay PLAUSTRA, rather than PLOSTRA, the next day he faluted him by the name of Flaurus. A certain Courtezan having perfecuted him with her Love, and perswaded him she should dye without his compassion, he yielded at last, enjoy'd her, and gave her 400 Sefterces for her pains: The Keeper of his Privy-Purfe coming afterwards to him, to know how it should be entred in his Accompts, he told him he would have it fet down, For Vespasian's being belov'd.

and that very appolitely: Speaking of a man which was very tall, but ill natur'd and ill proportion'd withall, he apply'd a Verse out of Homer to him, which corresponded exactly with the description of the man. Upon Cerylus (one of his Freemen, who being grown rich, and had taken the name of Laches upon him, and pretended to be free-born, to avoid some payment in the Exchequer) he pass'd a Greek Distich to this purpose; O Laches, Laches, when thou art dead thou wilt be Cerylus again. Above all things he affected jeering and gibeing, to cover the desormity of the gain he made in trisling and unseemly things,

things, that he might elude the envy of his practices by fome ridiculous cavil. One of his principal Officers and Favourites, coming to him one day to beg a Stewards place, for one which he pretended was his Brother, he put him off for the prefent, and caus'd him to be call'd to him which defir'd the preferment; from whom having receiv'd the fum himfelf, which was to have been paid to the other for his mediation, he ordain'd him his Steward; and when the Petitioner complain'd, he told him, You must e'en go find out another Brother, for this person whom you thought to be yours, proves at last to be mine. Another time being upon the road, and suspecting his Coachman who drove his Chariot, had stopt under pretence of shooing his Mules, for no other reason but to give opportunity to one that had business in Law. and was coming to speak with him, he ask'd his Muliteer, What was the price of a shooing? and articled for half. His Son Titus reprehending his invention of an Impost upon Urine, he took out some of the first money he had receiv'd, and holding it to his Nose, he demanded if the smell offended him; being answer'd, Not at all; he reply'd, And yet this comes out of the Urine. Certain Amballadors having brought him word, That there was a confiderable fum of money decreed for erecting a Statue for him in the form of a Colossus, Where is it? (sayes he) give it me presently; and holding out the palm of his hand, he told them, This Pedestal is alwayes ready. In his extream perils and apprehensions of death, he could not forbear his raillerie; when amongst other Prodigies, he was told the Mansoleum of the Cafars had fuddenly open'd of it felf, and that a Blazing-star appear'd in the air, he laugh'd at the Omen, and perswaded them, the one belong'd to Tunis

Junia Calvina, who was of the race of Augustus, and the other to the King of the Parthians, who wore his hair long; and when he was first seiz'd with his malady, he cry'd, If I be not mistaken, I am going to be a God.

24. In his ninth Confulship, being in Campania, he was furpriz'd with some light motions of a distemper, which oblig'd him to repair forthwith to the City, from whence he went to Cutylia, and an Estate he had about Reate, which he visited usually every Summer. In this place, besides the distemper upon him, (having corrupted his Entrails by the use of cold water) he nevertheless gave himself up to the affairs of the Empire as before, giving Audience to Ambassadors as he was lying upon his Couch; but being fuddenly taken with a Lask, and brought to fuch a weakness he was ready to faint, he cry'd out, An Emperour ought to dye upon his feet; and endeayouring to rife; he fank down, and went away in their hands which were helping him up. He died apon the 24th of June, when he had lived fixty nine years, one month, and feven dayes.

2 25. The common opinion is, he was fo well affured of his own fate, and his Childrens, that in fpight of the frequent Conspiracies against him, he had the confidence to affirm to the Senate, That either his Sons Chould succeed him, or no body. It is reported also, that de dreamt upon a time, that he faw a pair of Scales hanging in an exact Aquilibrium, in the middle of the Porch of his Palace, with Claudius and Nero in one Ballance, and himself and his Sons in the other: Nor was he miltaken in the event of his Vision, for the Reign and Dominion both of the one fide and

the other, was precifely of an equal duration.

Caius

### T. FLAVIUS . VESTEN NUC



T.FLAVIUS VESPASAUG.



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Caius Suetonius Tranquillus,

OFTHE

TWELVE CÆSARS.

## EIGHTH BOOK,

Being the

### LIFE

OF

Titus Flavius Vespasianus Augustus;

THE ELEVENTH Emperour of ROME.

Father, had either so much good fortune, or so much artifice and address in gaining upon the affections of all people, that he was called, The love and delight of mankind; but that which was most admirable, and unusual, was, that he should infinuate himself so happily

happily being Emperour, who when he was but a private person could not evade the malice, and asperfions of the world.

2. He was born on the thirtieth of December, in a year which was remarkable for the Murder of Caligula, near the Septizonium, in a pitiful house, but a worse Chamber, which is still to be seen. He was brought up with Britannicus in the Court, and instructed in the same disciplines, by the same Masters: In which time it is reported that a Physiognomist being brought by Narcissus (one of Claudius his Freemen) to give his judgment upon Britannicus, he confidently affirm'd that Britannicus should never be Emperour, but that Titus (who at that time stood by) most infallibly should. Betwixt these two perfons there was fo great a familiarity, it is confidently afferted that Titus being at the Table when Britannicas took the poison of which he died, he also had his taft, and had much ado to recover. In Memory of which accident, he erected him a Statue of Gold afterwards in the Palatium, and dedicated to him another on Horse-back of Ivory, which is carried at this day publickly before the pomp and folemnity of the Circensian Games.

3. The perfections and luftre both of his body and mind, appear'd from his infancy, encreasing afterwards more and more according to the degrees of his age. His aspect was excellent, adorned with no less Majesty than sweetness. Though his Stature was but indifferent, and his belly turgid and fat, yet he was of a clean strength and vigorous; his Memory was fingular, and apt for all manner of arts, either of Peace or War. He was dextrous at his weapon, and an incomparable horfeman, fo ready also both in the Latin and Greek tongues, that he did

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every thing well, either in Prose or in Verse, and that extempore, without any præmeditation. Besides this, he understood Musick, sung, and plaid upon the Harp with good judgment, and grace. I have heard many say, he writ short-hand as fast as any body could dictate, and that he did usually contend by way of sport with his Secretaries, who could imitate best whatever they saw, in which he proved so great a prosicient, that he was wont to say, If he pleas'd, he could make the best Forger in the World.

- 4. He commanded in the quality of a Military Tribune, both in Germany and England, where he acquired no less honour for his Moderation than Vigilance, as appears by the Multitude of Images, and Statues, and Inscriptions dedicated to his Memory in both Provinces. When he had given over the field, he betook himfelf to the Bar, and pleaded, but it was in Causes of the greatest importance, and not constantly. About the same time he married Arricidia Tertulla the Daughter of a Gentleman only, but one who had been formerly Captain of the Guards to an Emperour. When she died he took Marcia Furnilla to his Wife, a Lady of an illustrious family, but having had one Daughter by her, he put her away. From his Quæstorship he was advanced to the Command of a Legion, and reduced Tarachaa and Gamala, two very strong Towns in Judea; where in a certain Battle, having lost his horse under him, he mounted another immediately, that belonged to one of the Enemies fide, which he had killed hand to hand.
- 5. Not long afterwards being fent towards Galba to congratulate his advancement; where-

ever he came he drew the eyes of all people upon him, as if he had been fent for by Galba on purpose to be adopted; but having intelligence that the Commonwealth was fallen again into new troubles and diforders, he gave over that Journey; and turning out of the way to visit the Oracle of Venus in Paphos, confulting her concerning the fuccess of his Navigation, she secured him in the hopes of the Empire. Which having attained to in a short time after, and being left behind to reduce Judea, the last storm that he made at Hierusalem, he shot twelve Arrows against the Town, and kill'd every time his Man, and at last took it, upon the birth day of his Daughter, with fo much joy and applause from his Soldiers, that they faluted him Emperour in the heat of their acclamations, nor did their affections to him appear any less at his going away, they mingling Menaces with their Prayers and Importunities to prevail with him, To stay himself, or to take them along. And this was the occalion of this fuspicion, that he had a design of revolting from his Father, and making himfelf Emperour of the East; which jealonsie was much increased by his Voyage to Alexandria, where in the Consecration of the Oxe Apis at Memphis, he wore a Diadem upon his head; true it is, he did it only by the Rites and Customs of that Religion, but there wanted not those who interpreted it otherwise. To remove these false impressions, he return'd immediately for Italy, pasfing by Rhegium to Puteoli in a Merchants ship, and from thence to Rome, with all possible expedition, where surprizing his Father with his arrival, he brake out into this expression, I am come

dear Sir, I am come, as if he designed thereby to frustrate and confute the reports which were raised of him.

6. From that time he acted not only as a partner, but as a Protector of the Common-wealth. Hetriumph'd with his Father, exercis'd the Cenforship in conjunction with him, and was his Colleague in his Tribunitial, dignity, and feven Confulfhips. Having taken upon himself the care almost of all affairs, he dedicated all Letters and Difpatches in his Fathers name, drew up all his Edicts and discharg'd the Office of Quæstor or Chancellor, by reciting Orations in the Senate. He took upon him in like manner the charge of Major-dome or Steward of the Emperours houfhold, which was never executed before that time, but by a Knight of Rome. He managed it how. ever with nothing fo much moderation, and Civility as was expected; for having imploy'd people on purpose through both the Theatre, and Camp, to demand fuch persons as he had any fuspicion of, to be deliver'd up to him, and punish'd as Criminals; he without more ado put them to death, as it had been by confent of his Father. An instance of this is to be found in A. Cecinna a Consular Man, whom he invited to fupper, and caus'd him to be killed afterwards, before he was well out of the room; And truly not without reason, for he had met with a Note under his own hand, which was the Copy of a Speech he had prepar'd to make to the Souldiers to excite them to fedition. By this manner of proceeding, as he provided well enough for his own fecurity for the future, fo for the present he contracted so great an Odium, Hh

that scarce ever any man arriv'd at the Empire with a worse reputation, or greater repugnancy of

the people.

7. Besides his cruelty, he was decried also for his luxury, in that he did usually spin out his. Treats and Collations with the most profuse and dissolute of his friends, till midnight, and past. Nor was he less talked of for his Lust, by reason of the numbers of old Catamites, and young Eunuchs which he had about him; as likewife for the extraordinary passion he had for Beronice, whom by report he had promis'd to make his Wife. He was suspected also of Rapine and Extortion, and that in some Cases he took bribes, and fold the Judgment and Determination of his Father. In fhort, he was not only looked upon privately as another Nero, but pronounced fo publickly by the people. But all these Calumnies proved to his advantage, all things turning to his praife, when they found no Vice, but many excellent Virtues in him. His feasts were rather pleasant than profuse; The Election of his friends was with fuch prudence and fobriety, his Successors made use of them when he was gone, as perfons necessary both for them, and the State. He was fo great a Master of his passions, that he sent away Queen Beronice, though much against both their inclinations. Some of the chief Instruments of his Delights and Recreations, he fent away alfo, though otherwise he loved them very well. His Dancers though they were skillful and artificial, and (a while after) carried away the prize upon the Stage, he not only forbore to Countenance and Carefs ashe had formerly done, but to fee them afterwards in any publick affembly. bly. He was never the man that took any thing away from a Citizen, and was so little addicted to desire what belonged to another man, that he would not receive the usual presents and contributions which were his due. And yet of all his Predecessors, none was more Muniscent than he. After he had dedicated the Amphitheatre, and with admirable expedition finish'd the Baths hard by; he exhibited a Sword-play which was very Magnissent. He presented the People with a Naval Battle, in the old Naumachia, as also a Skirmish by his Gladiators in the same place; and one day caus'd 5000 wild beasts of all

forts to be baited.

8. Being Naturally so bountiful, that (not considering an Order of Tiberius according to which, the Emperours which succeeded might choose, whether they would ratise and consirm the Grants which their Predecessors had made; and when they did it, it was commonly with such formality, and circumstance, as if they had given them themselves) he was the first which by one General Edict consirm'd all at a blow, and would not suffer any man to apply to him for new. One of his principal Methods was, never to send any away without some hopes of success in his desires. And being advertised by his Domesticks upon a time, That he had promised more than he could perform, he replyed, That it was not sit that any one should go away melancholy, who came from speaking with a Prince. Again, being admonish'd at Supper, that he had done nothing for any body that day, he express his dissatisfaction in this Memorable Apophthegm, AMICI, DIEM PERDIDI, Then I bave

lost a day my Friends. The People he treated constantly with so much kindness upon all occasions, that having designed to give them the diversion of their Gladiators, he publish'd, that it should be exhibited, not after his own fansie, but the pleasure of the Spectators; and he was as good as his word, for he was fo far from refusing what they defired, that he follicited them to know what it was. Moreover his Complaifance was fo great, that though in his Judgment he was really for the Thracian Fencers, yet he would many times join both by his Voice and Gesture with the Opinion of the people; never the less so as to retain the Majesty of an Emperour, and to do no injustice in the distribution of the prizes. And that he might not be deficient in any point of popularity, he permitted the Common fort of people to have access into his Baines, when he was bathing himfelf. In his Reign there fell out some accidents, no less unexpected, than deplorable; as first the burning of Vesuvius, a Mountain in Campania. A fire in Rome which lasted three days, and three nights continually: and fuch a Pestilence, as perhaps had not been known any where before. Nevertheless, in all these Calamities he behaved himfelf not only with the care of a Prince, but with the Bowels and Compassion of a Father, comforting the people with his Edicts, and fometimes affifting them, as his own Revenues would give him leave. He chose such persons by Lot, as had been Consuls before, to take upon them the charge of seeing the ruines in Campania repaired. Such Goods and Estate as was found to belong to persons which had perished by the faid

faid Mountain, and had dyed without Heirs, he commanded should be imployed towards the building of those Towns which had fuffered. As to the burning of Rome, he declared publickly, that he would take the whole loss upon himself; and accordingly he defign'd all the Ornaments and Furniture belonging to his own Palaces to the re-adornment of the Temples, and publick Houses in the City: and that all things might be done with more certainty and expedition, he Commission'd several Roman Knights, to see them executed as he Commanded. To Remedy the Sickness, and abate the Malignity of the Difease, there was no Course, either Humane or Divine, which he neglected; having fought out all forts of Remedies and Sacrifices whatever. Amongst the misfortunes of those times, their Promoters and Informers may be numbred, who had their rife from the Licentiousness, and Impunity of the former. But Titus made them Examples, Condemning them dayly to be whipt and beaten with Clubs in the Market-place, and then to be drag'd through the Theatre, and at last, part of them to be fold as Slaves, and part transported into the most bitter, and uninhabitable Islands. And that no man might be fo audacious for the future, he prohibited amongst other things that the fame case should be tryed by feveral Laws; or that any one should inquire into the Estate of any dead Perfon, after a fet and precise Number of years.

9. When he entred upon the Office of High Priest, he protested he did it to keep his hands pure and undefiled. Nor did he fail in his pro-Hh a

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mife, for from that time he never was either Author or accessary to any mans death, though he wanted not occasion some times of using his revenge; affirming, He had rather dye himself, than put another to death. Two of Patrician Degree being convicted of afpiring to the Empire, he profecuted them no further, but admonished them gently to desist, telling them, That the Empire was given by destiny; and if any thing elfe might fatisfie them, he promifed they should have it; at which very time he dispatcht a Messenger to one of their Mothers who was then a far off and in no fmall anxiety for her Son, to assure her, he was out of all danger and well; and (as if this had been too small an instance of his Clemency) he not only entertain'd them privately at Supper that night in his own House, but the next day at a Spectacle of the Gladiators, having placed them by him on purpose, when the Weapons of the Combatants were presented to him, according to the Custome, he desired them to Survey them, and give him their approbation. It is reported also, that having had their Nativities cast, he told them, That they were both under imminent danger, but that it would happen to them another time, and that he was not to be the Author, as afterwards it fell out. His own Brother conspiring against him continually, and as it were openly folliciting the Army to a defection, in Order to which he was preparing to retire; he could not be perswaded, either to execute, banish, or discountenance him by allowing him less honour than before; but on the contrary, he comported himfelf towards him as he had done

done the first day of his Empire, giving him the Title of Companion, and Successor, and with tears in his Eyes, befeeching him in private, That at length they might live lovingly together like Brothers.

10. Amidst these actions he was cut off by death not long after, more to the detriment of the whole world, than to his own. When the folemnities were ended, in which he wept plentifully before the People, he retired into the Territories of the Sabines somewhat more melancholy than formerly, because as he was facrificing, the victim broke away, and besides there happen'd a prodigious clap of thunder, though the day was bright and ferene. The first Stage he came at he was furprized with the fit of an Ague, and being carried afterwards in his Litter, it is reported he put by the Curtains, and looking up to heaven complained, That he should be taken away so undeservedly, and protesting that in his whole life he did not know of any action but one he ought to repent of. But what that one action was, he neither declared himself, nor is it easie to conjecture; some are of opinion the unlawful conversation he had with his Brothers Wife, came then into his Memory. But Domitia her felf made folemn protestations, there was never any fuch thing, and if there had, she would rather have gloried in it, than denied it, did ordinarily in all other wickedness whatever.

II. He died upon the Ides of September in the same Town where his Father died two years, two months and twenty days before, in the one and fortieth year of his age. His death being known and publish'd, the sadness was as great and universal, as it had been a private family. The Senate had not pa-

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tience to attend a legal Convocation, but ran all of them immediately to the Council Chamber, and shutting up the doors first for a while, they opened them again, and in short, rendred him more thanks, and heap'd upon him more praises, now he was dead, than they had ever done whilst he was living, and amongst them.

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#### TITUS FLAVIUSDON TIAN



### TITUS: FLAVIUS DOMITIANUS



# Caius Suetonius Tranquillus, OFTHE TWELVE CÆSARS.

# EIGHTH BOOK,

Being the

## LIFE

Titus Flavius Domitianus;

THE TWELFTH Emperour of ROME.

omitian was born the 24th of October, (his Father being Conful Elect, and to enter into that honourable Charge the Month following) in the fixth quarter of the City, in the Street called the Pomegranate, at a house which he converted afterwards into a Temple, and dedicated to the Family

Family of the Flavii. It is reported, he passed his youth and minority in that infamous poverty, he had not one piece of Plate to make use of in his whole house. This is most certain, Clodius Pollio (of Prætorian degree) against whom Nero compos'd his Poem called Luscio, which is yet extant, kept a Note he had under Domitian's own hand, (and he shew'd it upon occasion) by which he promis'd him a nights Lodging when he pleas'd. Some affirm, he prostituted himself to Nerva, who fucceeded him. During the Wars of Vitellius, he fled into the Capitol with his Unkle by the Fathers side Sabinus, and part of such Forces as they had about them; but the Enemy being entred by force, and the Temple on fire, he conceal'd himself that night with the Sexton; and in the morning, habited like one of Is Priests, amongst the Votaries of that vain Superstition, being fled over the Tiber only with one Companion, to the house where the Mother of one of his Schoolfellows lived, he hid himfelf fo, that though he was follow'd by his footsteps, he could never be discovered. At last after the Victory, he appear'd again in publick, was faluted by the name of Cefar, took upon him the dignity of the City Prætor, with the Confular authority; but that was only in Title, for he transferred the Power to his next Colleague. Nevertheless he forbore not to exercise that authority he had, with so much licentioniness and violence, that it was rafie to guess what was to be expected from him hereafter. I do not propose to give an exact and particular relation of his deportment; After he had debauched the Wives of feveral other persons, he married Domitia Longina, whom he had taken away by force from Elius Lamia her Husband. And in

one day he disposed of above twenty Offices in the City and Provinces; wherewith Vespasian being surprized, was heard to say, He wondered he did not

fend one to succeed him also.

2. Though his Fathers friends dissiwaded him what they could from a defign he had into France, and Germany, as an Expedition altogether unneceffary; yet they could not beat him off it, he would go, only to equal the Exploits and Glory of his Brother. Being rebuked feverely for thefe whimfeys, that he might have the more confideration of his age and condition, he was taken home and lodg'd in his Fathers house; and when he and his Brother Titus went forth in their Chair, he followed them for the most part in his Litter; and when both of them Triumphed over the Jews, he accompanied them mounted upon a white Horfe. Offix Confulfhips, he executed but one, according to the ordinary form, and that was by the cession and interpolition of his Brother. He was a great pretender to Modelly, but especially to Poetry, in fo much that he recited his Compositions in publick; but it being a study in which he had not been much vers'd before, he despised it by degrees, and gave it quite over. Not long after, Vologesus King of the Parthians having demanded some Succours against the Alani, and desired one of the Sons of Vespasian to Command them, he used all art and means he could invent, to procure that imployment for himself; and when he found those differences composed, he follicited other Princes of the East, (by his promifes and presents) to desire Supplies. After the death of his Father, having a long time deliberated with himself, whether he should offer the Souldiers a double Donative, to what his Brother

ther Titus had given them, at last he declar'd boldly, That he was left Partner in the Empire by his Father, but that his Will had been abus'd. Nor from that time did he forbear contriving the destruction of his Brother, both in publick and private, till seeing him desperately ill, before he was quite dead, he commanded the room to be clear'd, and all people to leave him, as he had been already in his Grave: Nay even after he was deceas'd, he vouchsafed him no other honour, but a bare Consecration, carping at, and reviling his memory, both in reslective speeches, and in his Edicts or Declarations.

3. In the beginning of his Empire, he had a custom of retiring into his Chamber an hour every day, where his imployment was nothing but catching of Flies, and pricking them thorow with a Penknife: whereupon one enquiring, Who was in the Closet with Cafar? it was wittily answer'd by Vibius Crispus, Not so much as a Fly. After this, though in the time of his fecond Confulship he had had a Son by his Wife Domitia, and the next year had faluted her with the Title of Augusta, yet he divorc'd her notwithstanding, and all for an immoderate affection she had for a Stage-player called Paris. But in a short time he repented of what he had done fo rashly, and being impatient of their feparation, he took her again, pretending great importunity and follicitation from the people. In the administration of the Empire, (for fometime) he was very various, by reason of the equality, and proportion of his Vices and Virtues, till at length his Vices prevail'd above his natural inclination, (as far as we may conjecture) making him covetous because of his wants, and cruel by reason of his fears. 4. All

4. All the Shews and Spectacles which he exhibited, not only in the Amphitheatre, but in the Grew, were noble and magnificent: In the Cirque besides the Courses of the Chariots with two horses and four, he presented them with two Combates. one of Horse, and the other of Foot, and a Sea-fight in the Amphitheatre. His Baitings, and Gladiators he represented by Torch-light in the night, as also not only his Mens Combates, but his Womens. The Quæstorian Shows having been discontinued for a long time, he brought up again into use, and was not only always present himself, but still gave the people liberty to demand two couple of his Gladiators, which were always brought in at last, habited according to the dignity of the Court. Whenever he was present at any of these Swordplays, he had a kind of a Dwarf standing continually at his feet, cloathed in Scarlet, whose head was fo little, it was almost a miracle: with this yound Lad he discours'd very much, and sometimes gravely, and of matters of importance: For he was once heard to ask him, What he thought of his defion to give the Government of Ægypt to Metius Rusus, the next Ordination. Having digg'd a vast Lake near the River of Tiber, built his Walls, and fet up his Scaffolds against them, he represented his Seafights, by great numbers of Ships, well nigh amounting to compleat Fleets; and the greatest showers that fell, could not hinder him from being there, and staying out to the end of the fight. He gave them likewise their Secular Plays, computing the time not from the year in which Claudius began them of late, but from that in which Augustus expos'd them of old. In the Circensian Games, that the hundred ordinary Courfes might be the more eafily

eafily dispatch'd, he reduced every Match from feven Stages to five. In the honour of Jupiter Capitolinus, he instituted three sorts of Contests, to be observ'd every five years, of Musick, Horsmanship, and Wrestling, in which he distributed his Coronets in greater numbers than they do at this day. Befides thefe, he had his Disputations and Controversies both in Latine and Greek Prose, as also his Singers with the Harp, Dancers, and plain Harpers, and his Virgins for running of races: At all these solemnities he sat President himself in his Pantofles, with a Purple Robe upon him, after the fashion of the Germans, and a Crown upon his head, with the Images of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. of Jupiter, and the Colledge of the Flavian Priests, fat by him in the fame habit, only to their Coronets his Image was added. He used also yearly to celebrate the Feasts of Minerva, upon the Albane. Mount; and in honour to her, he erected a Colledge, out of which fuch as were to be Masters and Governours by Lot, were oblig'd no give the people the diversion of magnificent Baitings, Stage-plays, and Contentions both in Poetry and Rhetorick. Three feveral times he gave a benevolence to the people, of three hundred Sesterces apiece; and a great Feast during the Combate of the Gladiators. At the solemnity of the Seven Mountains, having presented the Senators and Gentlemen with larger Paniers, he caus'd little Baskets of meat to be distributed among the common people, and gave them an example to fall on. The next day hethrew amongst them a mass of all things, to be scrambled for, and because the greatest part of it fell amongst the common people, he commanded fifty Tickets to be given to every Bench of the Senators and Gentle-5. He men.

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5. He re-built several stately and Noble Fabricks, which had been destroyed by the Fire; amongst the rest, the Capitol which had been burnt the second time: But the Glory he was resolved to ingross to himself, for he would not suffer any name in the inscriptions but his own, nor allow the least mention of the primitive Founder. In the Capitol he built a New Chappel, which he dedicated to fupiter custos; as also the Forum, or Hall of Justice, which is called at this time Forum Nervæ: He built likewise another Temple for the Flavian Family, a Course, or Lists, for Running or Wrestling, a Musick-house, and a place for a Sea-sight; the Stones of which were imploy'd afterwards for the repairing of the Circus, which on two sides had been samentably burnt.

6. His Military Expeditions, he undertook voluntarily partly, as that against the catti, and partly of necessity, as that against the Sarmatians, upon the cutting to pieces a whole Legion, and the General which Commanded them; and two more against the Daci, in the first of which Oppius Sahinus (who had been Consul) was slain; and in the second, Cornelius Fuscis, Colonel of the Prætorian Cohorts, to whose Conduct he had committed the chief management of that War. After several Engagements, and variety of fortune, having conquer'd the Catti, and the Daci, he Triumphed twice: But for his Victory over the Sarmas tians, he had only the honour to present his Laurel Garland to Jupiter Capitolinus. L. Antonius Governour of the Upper Germany, having revolted and put himself at the head of a Mutinous Army, by most admirable fortune he reduced, though he was absent himself: For as they were ready to joyn Battle, the Rhine overflowing on a sudden, flopt the Barbarian Force from passing over to the assi-stance of Antonius. Of which Victory his first news was rather by prefage than intelligence; for the very day on which that Battle was fought, an Eagle having covered his Statue with her wings, made a noise expressing a kind of joy, and not long after the news was fo hot that Antonius was killed, that many people affirmed his head was brought to Town, and that they had feen it themselves.

7. In many things he altered the ordinary Customs; particularly, he took away the publick Distributions to Clients in little Baskets, and brought them to the old method of

magnificent Suppers: To the four antient Factions at the Circensian Games, he added two more, one in a Livery of Gold, the other in Purple. He forbad the Comedians a-Aing publickly upon the Stage, but allowed them their liberty in particular houses. He prohibited the Castration of Children; and such as were Eunuchs already, and in the possession of the Merchant, he moderated their prices, and brought them down to a more reasonable rate. Observing a vast plenty of Wine, and as great a scarcity of Corn in the same year, he concluded, that by their too much care of cultivating their Vines, they had neglected their Tillage; to prevent the same inconvenience for the future, he put forth an Edict, commanding no more Vines should be planted in Italy, and that they should be cut down in the Provinces, or at least reduc'd to a moiety of what they were at that time; but he perfifted not in this resolution. Some of the greatest and most considerable Offices, he communicated indifferently between his Libertines and Souldiers. He would not fuffer the Legions to double their Camps, nor any of the Souldiers to deposite above a thousand Sesterces about their Colours. Forasmuch as Antonius designing a Mutiny in the Winter Quarters of the two Legions, seemed to have founded his confidence upon the money in deposito, he added also to the pay of the Souldiers, which confifted of three pieces of Gold by the month, a fourth piece.

8. In the administration of Justice, he was wery diligent and industrious; He many times sate himself in an extraordinary manner in Court, and superseded the partial sentences of the Centumviri; He admonish'd the Commissioners and Delegated Judges likewise, not to incline too much to the Rhetorical perswasions of such as interpos'd in the behalf of the Slaves, and Servants which demanded their liberty, taking particular notice of fuch Judges and Counsellors as were corrupt, and acted by bribes. He encouraged the Tribunes of the people to accuse an Adile of Extortion, and to demand Justice against him of the Senate. He was so careful against the enormities of the City Magistrates, and the Governours of Provinces, that there was never known more equity and modesty amongst the great Officers than in his time, though after his death most of the same perfons were convict of all manner of crimes. Having taken upon

upon himself the Censorship, and regulation of manners, he reformed the liberty which was taken in the Theatres, of fitting promiscuously amongst the Nobless. He suppressed fuch Libels, and defamatory writings, as any wayes reflected upon persons of Quality of either sex, and caus'd them to be abolished, with disgrace and infany to the Authors. He turned a Gentleman out of the Senate, for no other reason but that he took an immoderate delight in Buffonry and Dancing. From fuch women as were fcandalous in their lives, he took away the priviledge of Litters, and their capacity of Legacies, and inheritance. He blotted a Roman Knight out of the List of the Judges, for taking his Wife again after the had been repudiate for Adultery. He condemned some particular persons of both degrees, (as well Senators as Gentlemen) by the Law Scatinia. The incests of the Vestal Virgins, which his Father and Brother had negligently passed over, he punish'd severely sundry wayes: Such as were convicted but once, were only put to death; but others, according to the antient Custom: For having permitted two Sifters of the Family of the Ocellat, to make choice in what manner they would dye, and expres'd the same favour afterwards to Varonilla, he banish'd the persons which had debauched them: But when Gornelia their Principal was brought before him, who had been pardoned before, and was a long time after profecuted and convict for the like offence again, he commanded her to be buried alive, and the persons which had vitiated her, to be whipt to death in the midst of the Comitium. One perfon only which had been Prætor, whom (the Evidence being not clear) they had constrained to a Confession by torture, he favour'd so far as only to banish him; and that no man might violate the Religion and Reverence which was due to the Gods, with impunity, he caus'd the Souldiers to demolish a Monument which one of his Freemen had erected for his Son, with the Stones which were defigned for the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus; and the bones and ashes which were in it, to be thrown into

9. At the beginning of his reign he shewed himself so gentle, and abhorring all manner of Cruelty, that in the absence of his Father, upon the Memory of this Verse in Virgil,

Impia quam casis Gens est epulata Juvencis.

E're the prophaner world set out their feasts with innocent, and yet with slaughter'd Beasts.

He resolved by an Express Edict to forbid the facrificing of Oxen. Whilst he was a private person, he gave not the least Umbrage, or suspicion of coverousness, or parsimony, nor for a long time after he was Emperour; on the other fide, he gave frequent testimonies, not only of his moderation, but liberality, behaving himself very bountifully to all that were about him, inculcating nothing to them fo much as to avoid baseness and sordidness. Such inheritances as were left him by persons which had Children, he would never accept; Ruscius Capio having by his Will obliged his heir, To pay a certain sum every year to every Senator which entred into the Senate: He made the Will void, and would not suffer it to be executed. Such as had been fued in the Treafury five years before, and had their fuits still depending, he discharged, not allowing any new process to be made upon that account, but within a years time, and that with this Caution, that if the Informer made not his charge good, he should be banished for his pains. The Clerks, and Noraries belonging to the Quæstors, having been accustomed to Negotiate contrary to the Law clodia, he pardoned for the time past, but not otherwise. The division of lands having been made for the Veteran Souldiers, he confirm'd the remainders which were left, to the old possessors, as held of the Crown in Fee; fuch false informations as fell under the Cognizance of the Exchequer, he repreft, and not without severe chastisement to the Informers, this by report being his usual saying, That Prince which does not punish Informers, does but incourage and increase them.

10. But this mercy and moderation was not long lived, and yet he fell away sooner to cruelty than avarice. A Scholar of Paris the Mimick, being at that time but a Youth, and very sick, he caus'd him to be slain, for nothing, but because he resembled his Master both in his action and seature. Hermogenes of Tarsus was served in the

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fame kind, for certain figurative reflections upon him, in a History which he composed, and the Clerks which transcribed it were hanged. A substantial House-keeper being a Spectator at that time, and but faying of one of the Gladiators, The Thracian is hard enough for the other against whom he fights, but not for him who exhibits the (hew, was pulled down immediately from his Seat, and thrown upon the stage to be exposed to the dogs, with this inscription, The Thracians part-taker for having spoken irreverent words. Many Senators he caused to be put to death, fome of which had been formerly Confuls, as particularly Civicus Cerealis in his Proconsulship of Asia, Salvidenus Orfitus and Acilius Glabrio in their banishment, pretending prachiles against the State; Multitudes of others also he punish'd upon every flight occasion: Elius Lamia amongst the rest was executed for his jefts, though they were old and innocent; Domitian being in discourse with him one day after he had taken away his Wife, he took occasion to commend his voice, to which Elius replyed, Yet alas I must hold my peace. Titus advising him likewise to another Wife, he anfwered;

#### נוא אן סט שמנוחסמו שלצאמו;

And would you, Sir, be married too?

salvius Cocceanus, for that he celebrated the Nativity of Otho the Emperour, who was his Unkle by the Fathers fide. Metius Pomposianus because he was reported to have had an Imperial Horoscope, and that the position of the Heavens at his birth, portended he should be Emperour; as also because he carried about him a Map of the World in Parchment, the Speeches of all the Kings and Captains mentioned in Livy, and had presumed to give the names of Mago and Hannibal to certain of his Slaves. Salustius Lucullus Lieutenant General in Britain, for suffering a new sort of Lances to be called Lucullia's after his own name. Junius Rusticus for publishing a writing in commendation of Petus Thrasea, and Helvidius Priscus, and affirming them to be very honest men, upon which occasion likewise he banished all the

Philosophers as well out of Italy, as Rome. He caused Helvidius Junior, to be flain in like manner, for that he had made a certain Farce which he caused to be recited upon the Stage, in which under the names of Paris and Oenone, he had made some reflections upon the Divorce betwixt his Wife and him. Flavius Sabinus one of his Coufin Germans, for that upon the day of the Assembly for the creation of Confuls, the Publick Crier by mistake pronounced him Emperour to the people, instead of Consul. Nevertheless his cruelty increased after his Victory in the Civil War. in so much that to revenge himself of those who had been of the adverse party, and to discover their Complices, he invented a new kind of torture, by putting fire into their privy parts and sometimes cutting off their hands. This is most clear, he never pardoned but two persons that. were of any eminence, (one a Tribune, of Senators degree, and the other a Centurion) who to make their innocence the more conspicuous, made it appear they had been Caramites, and effeminate persons, and by consequence uncapable of any interest either with the General or Army.

11. Nor was he only fierce and positive in his Cruelty, but fubril also and artificial in surprizing. The day before he crucified the Comptroller of his Houshold, he called him up into his Chamber, conftrained him to fit down by him, dismissed him merry and secure, and sent him a dish of meat from his own Table that night. Aretinus Clemens, a man of Consular dignity, and one of his principal Favourites and Emissaries, when he had concluded upon his death. he fent for him, cajol'd him, shewed him the same or greater favour than before, till at last (being in the same Litter with him, as they were taking the air one day) perceiving his Accuser, he demanded of Clemens, whether be should hear the next day what that Rascal could say? And that he might abuse the patience of men with the more scorn, and contempt, he never pronounced any difinal fentence, but with a Preamble full of clemency and mercy: fo that whenever he appear'd gentle in the Prologue, it was a fure fign the Epilogue would be bloody. Having brought some persons (who were accused of Treason) before the Senate, to prepare them for his defign, he declared publickly, that That day be should be able to discern how dear he was to the Senate; by which means he fore-spoke their judgments, an I easily prevailed to have them condemned to dye more majorum: Which when he had obtained, as if he had been terrified with the atrocity of the punishment, to take off the envy from himself, he interceded to the Senate in these words, for it will not be amiss to set them down expresly; P. C. permit I beseech you that I may obtain of your piety, (which notwithstanding I know must be obtained with great dissipation) that these poor people condemned, may be allowed to make choice of what deaths they will dye; By so doing you will rescue your own eyes from a spectacle of horror, and all the

world will take notice I was present in the Senate.

12. Having exhausted his Treasure by his extraordinary Buildings, by his Exhibitions to the people, and augmenting the pay of his Souldiers; to ease his Military expences, he attempted to reform his Troops, and reduce them to a lesser number: But considering with himself, that would but leave him open to the Invasions of the Barbarians, and befides that, the other Charges of the Empire were too great for him to contend with, he gave himself over to all kind of Rapine and Extortion. Upon the least accufation, by the first Informer, he seiz'd upon the Estates of all people, whether living or dead: The least action or word against the Majesty of their Prince, was sufficient to undo them. He confiscated Inheritances though never so remote, if there were but one witness found to depose, that he heard the deceased party say when he was living, That Casar was his Heir: But above all, the Tribute of the Jews was exacted with most severity; not only from such as by profesfion were Jews, and practifed their Religion in the City, but from fuch also as had dissembled their Original, and by that means, evaded the Impositions. I remember when I was but a Boy, I was present at an Assembly in which the Emperours Procurator caused an antient man of fourscore and ten years of age, to be searched, that he might know whether he was circumcifed or not. From his very youth he was rude, and unfociable, prefumptuous and immoderate, both in his words and his actions. cenis one of his Fathers Concubines (returned newly out of Istria) prefenting her felf to him to kis him as she had used to do, he gave her his hand. Taking it ill his Brothers on-in-law had his Servants in white Liveries like his, he cryed out,

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Ούκ άραθον πολυκοιρανίη.

No pleasant prospect it affords, To see at once two Soveraign Lords.

13. When he was arrived at the Empire, he had the confidence to boast in the Senate, That it was be bad given it both to his Father, and Brother, and that they had but restored it to him again. After his Divorce, when he took his Wife again, he declared, That he had re-taken her to his Sacred Bed: And when he made a great Feast one day, he took great delight to hear their acclamations and wishes of all health and happiness to our Lord and Lady. His obstinacy and perverseness appear'd at the representation of the Plays instituted in horour to Jupiter Capitolinus; where the whole Affembly by common confent making it their petition, that he would restore Palsurius Sura, (who had been formerly turned out of the Senate, but had at that time gained the Prize amongst the Orators) he gave them no answer, more than by the common Cryer to command their filence. With the same arrogance dictating a Letter for one of his Officers, he began, Our Lord and our God requires it shall be so: whereupon it was ordered, that no man should presume to call him otherwise, either in writing or discourse. He would not permit any Statues to be set up for him in the Capitol, but what were of Gold or Silver, and a precise weight. He erected so many Gates. and Triumphal Arches (upon which were represented his Chariot and four Horses, with all his Ensigns of Triumph) that upon one of the faid Arches "APKEI was inscribed, which in Greek fignifies enough. He was the first man which was ever known to be Conful seventeen times; the middle feven successively, but almost all of them he held only in Title, none beyond the Calends of May, and several to the Ides of January, and no longer. After his two Triumphs, (over the Catti and Daci) when he had assumed the Surname of Germanicus, he altered the names of the two months September and October, and caused them to be called Comanicus and Domitianus, because in one of them them he was made Emperour, and in the other he was

14. His deportment having made him terrible, and by consequence odious to all people, he perished at length by the Conspiracy of his Friends and Freemen of greatest intimacy with him, with the privity and co-operation of his Wise. A long time before, he had an apprehension not onely of the year and day, but of the hour and manner of his death. For the *Chaldeans* had given him their Predictions when he was but a child. One night as he was at Supper, he was observed to forbear Mushromes, which his Father taking notice of, fell a laughing at him, as one that was ignorant of his own Destiny, for that he did not fear the sword rather than them: upon this score he lived in perpetual disquiet, the least apprehension throwing him down into the greatest anxiety. It is said he repealed the Edict he had exhibited for the destroying of Vines for no other reason, but because these Verses in Greek were scarrered about Rome.

Pluck up my roots, try all can be devis'd, Yet I'le find wine when Cæsars sacrific'd.

By the same diffidence and sear (though he was otherwise very vain and ambitious) he resused the new honour which they had contrived for him, which was, that as oft as he should exercise the Consulship, the Gentlemen of Rome chosen by lot, habited in their robes, with Military Lances in their hands, should march before him amongst his Lictors, and Serjeants. The time of his suspected danger drawing near, he grew every day more jealous than other, insomuch, that he caused a Gallery in which he usually walked, to be set about with a certain stone called Phengites, by the brightness of which, the Images were reslected in that fort, he could see whatever was done behind him, as well as in a Glass. He would not admit any Prisoner or Criminal to be brought before him, but in private; nor would he hear what any of them could say for themselves, till he had first gotten their chains in his hands; that his Domesticks might see how unsafe it was for any one to attempt

the life of his Patron, though to never so good an end, he commanded Epaphroditus (Secretary to Nero) to be put to death, because it was reported that when Nero was deferted by every body else, he gave his helping hand to the

making him away.

14. Though Flavius Clemens was his Cousin German. and no way to be feared in respect of the inactivity and contemptibleness of his life; though he had declared his Sons (which were very young) his Succeffors, and having alter'd their old names, caused one of them to be called Vespasian, and the other Domitian: Yet on a sudden, upon a flight and groundless suspicion, he commanded him to be cut off, before he was well out of his Consulship: Which piece of cruelty gave no small expedition to his own ruine. For eight months together, there was so much thunder and lightning in all parts, that when the news was brought him, he cryed out, Let him strike now whom he pleases. The Capitol, the Temple of the Family of the Flavii, his Palace, and his very Chamber were all fmitten; The Inscription upon a Triumphal Statue, was taken off the Basis by the violence of a Tempest, and fell down into a Monument hard by. The Tree which had been thrown down in Vespasians time, and rose up again of it self, fell down the second time on a sudden. The Oracle at Preneste, which was accustomed to favour him constantly, and to promise him good fortune at the beginning of every year; contrary to its former kindness, presaged nothing but forrow now, and that not without mention of blood. He dreamed that Minerva, (whom he adored even to superflition) had withdrawn her felf from the Chappel he had confecrated to her, and that she told him, That Jupiter had disarmed her, and she icould protect him no longer. But nothing went so near him, as the answer of Ascletarion the Aftrologer, and the accident which enfued thereupon. For he being accused of having published his Predictions according to the Rules of Art, and not denying it at all, he asked him if he knew his own fortune, and could tell what would become of himself; the Astrologer replyed, That in a short time he should be devoured by Dogs. To convince the World, as he thought of his error, he caused him immediarely to be killed, and burned with as much care as was possible; whilst they were obeying his Commands, a furious rious tempest arose on a sudden, threw down the Funeral Pile, and blew off the body; and the Dogs by accident caught it up, and eat it before it was half burnt; Which the Mimick Latinus having seen as he past by, he told Domitian as he fate at supper that night, amongst the rest of his sto-

ries of that day.

16. The day before he was killed, having commanded that some Nectarines which were brought him then, should be fet up against the morrow, he added these words, if it be my fortune to use them; and turning about to such as were near him, he told them, That the next day the Moon would appear bloody in Aquarius, and that something would be done, which should be the discourse of all the world. About midnight he was so affrighted, he leaped out of his bed. The next morning he fent for an Aftrologer which was come out of Germany, and condemned him to death, because having consulted him about the Consequences of those lightnings, he made answer that they portended a revolution in the State. It happened also that scratching a Bile he had upon his forehead, till the Blood ran down upon his face, he uttered these words with a figh, And would to God this were all! Then he inquired what a Clock it was, and they told him by defign it was twelve, instead of eleven, which was the hour he apprehended. At which being over joyed, as if the danger was past, he hasted with all speed to his Bath, for the refreshment of his Body; but Parthenius his principal Chamberlain carried him another way, pretending he had got a person in his Chamber, who had matter of great importance to discover to him, and such as was not to be deferred, upon which he commanded all people to withdraw, and retiring into his Chamber, was murdered as foon as he came in.

17. The Order of the Conspiracy, and the manner of its execution, are related as follow. Whilf the Conspirators were in dispute amongst themselves, what course they should take, and whether they should affail him in his Bath, or at Supper; Stephanus the Procurator of Domitella (who at that time flood accused for embezeling certain Moneys) tendred them his affistance. To take off all suspicion he pretended something was amis in his lest arm, and for some days kept it wrapt up in Weol, and fwath'd.

fwath'd, into which having conveyed a dagger, he entred into the Chamber, and under pretence of discovering a Plot, he presented the Emperour with a List, and whilst he was reading it with great horror and aftonishment, Stephanus struck his dagger into his privities. Domitian finding himself wounded, endeavoured to defend himself. but clodianus (who had the command of a wing of the Army) Maximus Parthenius, (one of his Freemen) Saturius (a principal officer belonging to his Chamber) with one of the Gladiators, fell all upon him, gave him seven desperate wounds, and killed him. A young lad who had the keeping of the Chamber where the Lares or Houshold Gods were kept, had the fortune to be by, and he added this to what we have faid before, that upon the first wound Domitian receiv'd, he called to him to reach him a dagger which was under his pillow, and to call the Servants, but that there was nothing of the Dagger to be found, but the Hilt, and the doors all locked fast, and secure. That the Emperour having struggled for some time with Stophanus at last got him down, sometimes striving to wrest the Dagger out of his hand, and sometimes, (though they were all mangled and cut) to thrust his eyes out with his fingers. He was slain the eighteenth of September, in the five and fortieth year of his age, and the fifteenth of his Empire. His body being carried out upon a Bier, as a person of the meanest condition. by common Bearers; Phillis, his Nurse, burned it at a Country house she had, not far from the Town, in the Highway, called Latina. But his ashes she carried privately into the Temple of the Flavians, and mingled them with the ashes of Julia the Daughter of Titus, which she had nurst alfo.

18. His stature was Tall, his Countenance modest, though sanguine, his eyes large, but dull and dim, he was handsome, and well proportioned in all his limbs, except his feet, for his toes were of the shortest, but his youth and his beauty went away together, for afterwards he grew bald, his belly great, and his leggs very small and lean, by a long sit of sickness: He was so affected with the opinion the World had of his comliness, that he boasted of it one day before the Senate in these words; Hitherto you have not disapproved either of my heart, or proportion. However he was so much dissatisfied with his baldness,

that

that if any other person was reslected upon by it, either in jest or in earnest, he took it to himself, and interpreted it as spoken in contempt of him. Yet in a Book which he dedicated to one of his Friends, about the preservation of the Hair, he used these words both for his, and his own consolation; Seest thou not how proper and handsome I am? yet my hair has the same destiny with yours, and I take it patiently that it grows old whilst I am in my youth: But you must know, as nothing is more graceful, so nothing is more

transitory than beauty.

19. Living as he did in delicacy and ease, no wonder if he was impatient of labour, and seldom made use of his feet: In his Military Expeditions, sometimes he went on Horse-back, but most commonly in his Litter. Of all the Exercises of Arms, he delighted especially in shooting with an Arrow, in which he was so excellent, that many have seen him kill hundreds of several sorts of Beasts in his Park near Alba, with such incomparable art, he would fix two Arrows in their heads at two shoots, as if they had been two horns: Sometimes he would set a Boy at a good distance, to expand the palm of his right hand for a mark, and would shoot his Arrows so skilfully, they should all pass betwixt his singers without doing him any harm.

20. At the beginning of his Empire, he neglected all kind of Literature, though he was at great expence in repairing the Libraries which had been burnt, and recovering Copies of fuch Books as were loft, fending on purpose as far as Alexandria to transcribe and correct them, Nevertheless he never applied himself either to History, or Poetry, or even to such Compositions as necessity requir'd. Besides the Acts and Commentaries of Tiberius, he never read any thing, and was beholding to the invention of other people, for all his Letters, Orations, and Edicts. However his difcourse was not unelegant, and sometimes things came from him very remakable; I wish (said he) I was but as bandsome, as Metius thinks himself: Seeing ones head mingled with yellowish and white hair, he cry'd, It was nothing but Snow and Mead mix'd together. He pronounced also, That the most miserable condition in the whole world, was the condition of a Prince, for that no body would believe he had difcovered a Conspiracy, unless he was killed. As often as his affairs would give him leave, he diverted himself at Dice, even on Working-dayes, and in the Mornings. He bathed himself likewise in the day time, and eat plentifully at Dinner; but at Supper he seldom took any thing but a Matian Apple, and one fingle draught out of a narrow mouth'd Vial: He Feasted often, and magnificently, but was seldom long at the Table, never after Sun-fetting, nor permitted any Collations; for till he went to bed, he did nothing but

walk privately by himself.

21. He was so much addicted to wantonness, he made it his recreation, and called it his Bed wreftling. 'Tis reported he pulled the hair off of his Concubines with Pincers, and that he swum amongst the most ordinary Prostitutes. Being obliged by his Marriage with Domitia, he constantly refused his Brothers Daughter which was offered him likewife; yet not long after, when fhe was married to another man, he debauched her of his own accord, though his Brother Titus was alive: At length both her Father and Husband being dead, he loved her very ardently, owned it to the World; yet when he had got her with Child, he forced her to miscarry, which was the cause of her death.

22. His death was indifferent to the people, but the Souldiers bewailed it exceedingly, who immediately upon the news endeavoured to Canonize him for a God; and had they had any body to head them, had doubtlesly revenged it, as they did not long afterwards, when they demanded the Authors of that Murder, to be executed. But on the contrary, the joy of the Senate was fo great, that being afsembled in haste, they could not forbear inveighing and reviling him in the most contumelious manner imaginable, commanding Ladders immediately to be brought, his Scutcheons and Images to be taken down, and broke to pieces before their faces; and at last decreed, that all Inscriptions should be razed, and all Memorials of him abolished. Nor many months before he was murdered, a Crow spake these words in the Capitol, Escu marra xaxos, All shall be well; which was interpreted by some body in this manner.

Nuper Tarpeio quæ sedit cumine Cornix, Est bene, non potuit dicere: dixit, erit.

On the Terpeian Mount the Crow did tell, Though all yet is not, all yet will be well.

Some report also, that Domitian himself having dreame that he had a certain Bunch or Excrescence of Gold growing out behind his neck, he concluded it was a certain presage, that the Commonwealth would be more happy and flourishing after his death; and indeed it sell out accordingly not long after, by the prudence and moderation of the Princes which succeeded him.

FINIS.